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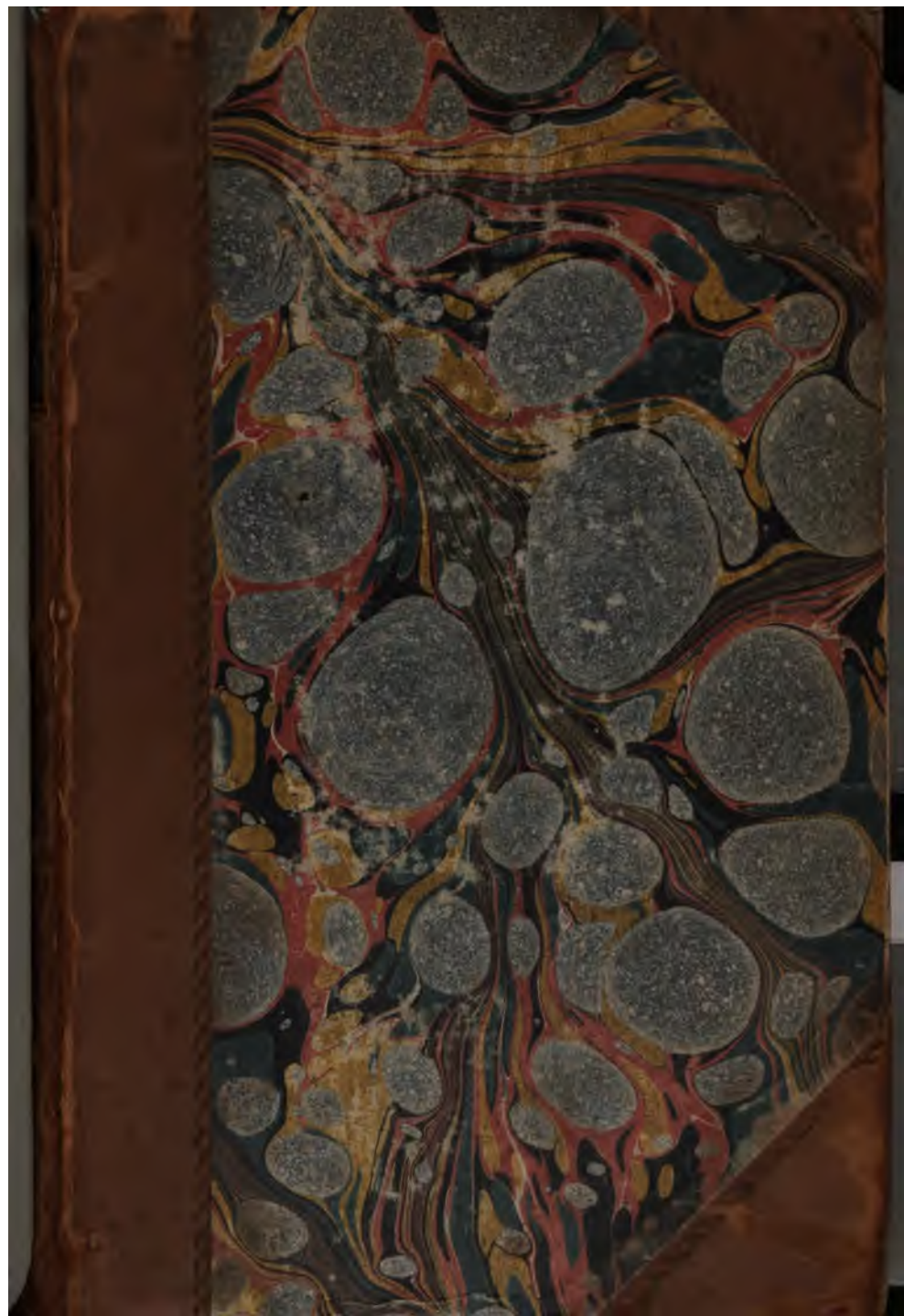
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LANZI'S *J.E. 1852.*

ORY OF PAINTING

IX

AND LOWER ITALY.

TED AND ABRIDGED

BY

D. EVANS, A.M.



LANZI'S *S.H. 1832.*

HISTORY OF PAINTING

IN

UPPER AND LOWER ITALY.

TRANSLATED AND ABRIDGED

BY

THE REV. G. W. D. EVANS, A.M.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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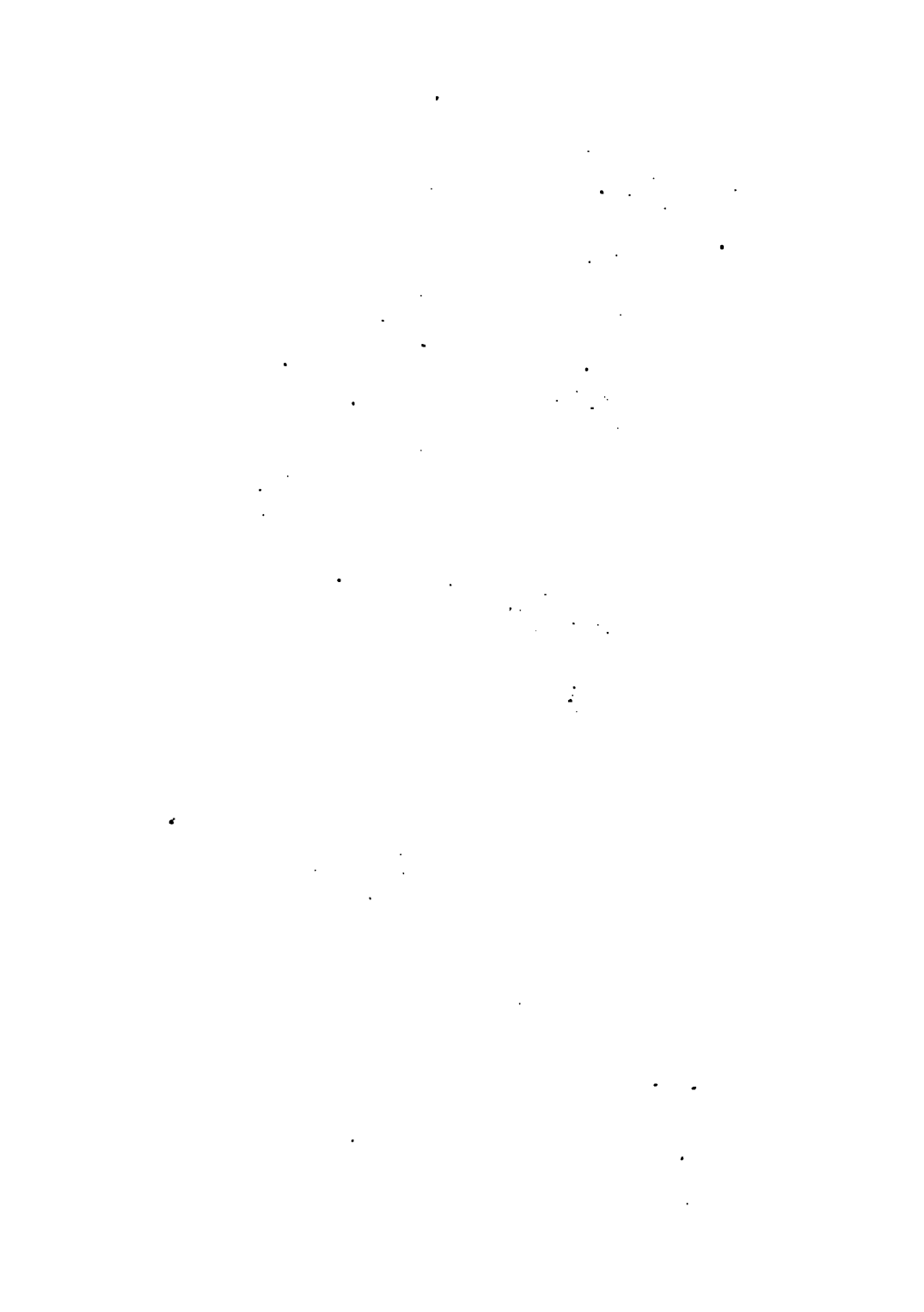
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ERRATA.

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LANZI'S HISTORY OF PAINTING

ABRIDGED.

THE REVIVAL OF PAINTING.

THAT Italy was not destitute of painters, even during the dark ages, is manifest, not only from history, but from various pictures that have withstood the ravages of time. Rome still retains several of very ancient date. Omitting her cemeteries, which have handed down to us so many Christian monuments, partly in specimens of painted glass, scattered through her museums, partly in storied walls, that have been illustrated by the learned, it will be sufficient for my purpose to notice the decoration of the whole of the church of S. Urbano, where, upon the walls, are depicted certain facts from the

Gospel history, together with some legendary tales of the Titular Saint and St. Cecilia,—a work which, not at all partaking of the Greek manner, either in the lineaments, or the style of the drapery, may more properly be referred to an Italian pencil, which has subjoined the date of 1011. Many more such works, existing in different cities, might be pointed out; as, for instance, at Pesaro, the picture of the patron saints of that city, thought to be of an earlier date than the year 1000; those in the crypt of the cathedral of Aquileia; that of S. Maria Primerana, at Fiesole, which also seems to be the work of that or the succeeding age; and the one at Orvieto, which, as early as the year 1199, was distinguished by the name of S. Maria Prisca, though now commonly known by that of S. Brizio;—to say nothing of the pictures of the Virgin, formerly ascribed to St. Luke, and now held to be the production of the eleventh or twelfth century. The painters of those times were, however, of little note; they produced no illustrious scholars, nor any work worthy to form an epoch. The art had gradually degenerated into a kind of mechanical operation, which, after the manner of the Greeks employed on the mosaics in the church of St. Mark, at Venice, constantly exhibited the same religious subjects—never attempting to represent nature, without distorting it. It was not till after

the middle of the thirteenth century that any thing better was effected ; and the first step towards the formation of a new style, was the bringing about an improvement in sculpture.

The glory of having accomplished this is due to the Tuscans ; and, more especially, to the Pisans. They were the first to teach their fellow-artists to shake off the trammels of the modern Greeks, and adopt the ancients for their models. Italy was by no means destitute of fine specimens of Greek and Roman sculpture ; but for a long period no artist had appeared in that country capable of appreciating their value—still less, any one who showed a disposition to imitate them. Nicholas, of Pisa, was the first to catch a ray of light, and to follow it up.

As early as the year 1231, he sculptured at Bologna the sarcophagus in S. Domenico, and from that circumstance—for it was deemed a masterly performance—was styled “ Nicholas of the Urn ”—*Niccola dall' Urna*. He afterwards executed, and in a much better style, the two pieces on the Last Judgment, in the cathedral of Orvieto ; and the pulpit, in the church of S. Giovanni, at Pisa,—works, the engravings of which demonstrate to the world, that design, invention, and composition, received from him a new existence. He was succeeded by his scholar Arnolfo, a Florentine, the author of the Tomb of Boniface VIII.

in St. Peter's at Rome, and by his son Giovanni, who sculptured the monuments of Urban IV., and of Benedict IX., at Perugia. This latter afterwards executed the great altar of San Donato, at Arezzo, a work which cost 30,000 gold florins; to say nothing of many other works of his which still exist in Naples, as well as in various cities of Tuscany. His associate, and probably also his disciple at Perugia, was Andrea of Pisa, who, establishing himself at Florence, decorated the cathedral and the church of S. Giovanni with statues; and after the labour of two-and-twenty years, completed the great bronze gate—"the germ of all that succeeding artists created of the chaste, the difficult, and the beautiful, in the other two." In fact, he was the founder of that illustrious school which successively produced Orcagna, Donatello, and the far-famed Ghiberti, the author of those celebrated gates, at the same church, which Michael Angelo pronounced worthy to stand at the entrance of Paradise. Next to Andrea, we may notice Giovanni Balducci, of Pisa, whom, the time at which he flourished, as well as his country and his style, all lead us to refer to the same school,—an artist of rare merit, employed by Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, and by Assone Visconti, Duke of Milan.

The improvement of sculpture was followed by that of mosaic, owing to the exertions of

another Tuscan belonging to the order of Minor Friars, and called, from a place in the territory of Siena, Fra Jacopo, or Fra Mino da Turrita. It is not known whether he acquired the art from the Roman or Greek workers in mosaic, but it is notorious that he very far surpassed them. On contemplating the works of Mino, of which there still exist some in the choir of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, one can hardly persuade oneself that they are the production of so rude an age; and yet history constrains us to believe that they are. It seems, therefore, a probable conjecture, that he too turned his thoughts to the imitation of the ancients, and took example from the less rude specimens of mosaic, still existing in several of the Roman churches; of which the design is less crude, the attitudes less forced, the composition more chaste, than in those of the Greeks who decorated the church of St. Mark, at Venice.

Painting, which had no such models to boast of as those above-mentioned, long continued in a rude state, compared with mosaic, and still more so, compared with sculpture. Yet we must not therefore imagine, that at the birth of Cimabue, that is, in 1240, the "whole race of artists was extinct," according to the exaggerated expression of Vasari. This must be looked upon as mere exaggeration, since he himself has recorded several sculptors, architects, and painters then living;

and the general scope of those less cautious expressions of his, against which so many writers have inveighed, and still continue to inveigh, favours the same opinion.

The city of Pisa could boast, at that time, not only painters, but a school for each of the fine arts. Morrona, who has illustrated its annals, deduces the origin of these schools immediately from Greece. In the year 1063, the Pisans, already very powerful both by sea and land, being about to erect that magnificent structure, their cathedral, had induced illuminators and other painters to accompany Buschetto, the architect, from that country; and these men reared up certain scholars among the Pisan citizens. The Greeks were, at that time, ill qualified to teach, for they knew but little themselves. Their first pupils at Pisa seem to have been a few anonymous artists, some of whose illuminations and old paintings are still in existence. There is in the cathedral a manuscript containing the *Exultet* usually chaunted on the Saturday in Passion Week; and in this we see, every here and there, illuminations exhibiting figures together with animals and plants; a monument, as it is thought, of the earlier part of the twelfth century, and yet not so very rude in point of execution. There are, too, in this cathedral, as well as elsewhere, certain paintings of the same century, containing figures of the Virgin, with the

Infant Jesus on her right arm ; rude, it is true, yet such, that in them we may trace the continuation of the same school down to the time of Giunta. Giunta's native place possesses no well authenticated picture of his, except a Crucifixion subscribed with his name, and believed to be one of his earliest works. He produced some better pieces at Assisi, whither he had been invited to paint about the year 1230. In the church of the Angioli is the best preserved work of this master : it is a Crucifixion painted on a wooden cross, on the extremities, the sides, and upper part of which, are represented the Virgin and two other half-length figures. The figures are considerably less than life, the design dry, the fingers excessively long. There is, however, a degree of correctness in the representation of the naked figure, an expression of grief in the heads, and a skilfulness in the plaiting of the drapery, far superior to any thing effected by the Greeks, his contemporaries ; the colours, though in his fleshs somewhat inclining to a bronze hue, are laid on with strength ; the local tints, judiciously varied ; the chiaroscuro, hit off with some degree of skill ; the whole, in short, not inferior, except in the proportions, to the Crucifixions, with similar half-length figures, ascribed to Cimabue. Some of Giunta's fresco paintings are still to be seen in the mother church of the Franciscans ; and in these, accord-

ing to Vasari, he was assisted by certain Greeks. Some will have it that these paintings have been injudiciously retouched; and this may serve to excuse the drawing, which in many parts may have been impaired; but the feebleness of the colouring cannot be disputed. These works, compared with what Cimabue executed there about forty years afterwards, plainly show that Giunta had not sufficiently mastered this branch of the profession.

By this school, as some will have it, the art was disseminated in these early times over all Tuscany; although we must not neglect to observe, that there, as well as in other parts of Italy, there were illuminators, who, of their own accord, transferring their talent from small to larger works, betook themselves, and, as we know was the case with Franco of Bologna, incited others, to painting on walls and panel. Whatever we may please to fancy, Siena could at this period boast her Guido, who painted, and that not altogether in the manner of the Greeks, as early as the year 1221. Lucca, also, in the year 1235, possessed one Bonaventura Berlingieri, of whom there still exists, in the little town of Guiglia, not far from Modena, a St. Francis, described as a work of considerable merit for the age. In 1288, the same place produced another painter, known by a Crucifixion which he left at S. Cerbone, a short dis-

tance from the city, with the following inscription: "Deodatus filius Orlandi de Lucca me pinxit, A. D. 1288." Arezzo had her Margaritone, a disciple, as well as an imitator of the Greeks, who, to all appearance, must have been born several years before Cimabue. He painted on canvas, and was the first, according to Vasari, to hit upon a method of rendering pictures more durable, and less liable to crack. He used to spread the panel over with canvas, which he laid on with a strong glue made of shreds of parchment; and then covered the whole with a preparation of chalk (*gesso*) before he began to paint. Some of his Crucifixions may still be seen at Arezzo, and one of them at the church of Santa Croce, at Florence, near another by Cimabue, both of them in the old manner, and not so different in point of merit, but that Margaritone, though more rude, may yet be styled a painter, if we confer that title on Cimabue.

Nevertheless, we must not disguise the fact, that there is no city to which painting is so much indebted as to Florence, nor any name so proper to mark an epoch as that of Cimabue. The painters hitherto mentioned had but few followers; their schools, with the exception of that of Siena, languished for a time, and then either gradually dwindled away, or became incorporated with that of Florence. This school in a short time eclipsed

every other ; this school has invariably flourished, exhibiting a proud list of artists in one continued succession, uninterrupted even down to our own days. Let us deduce it from its source.

CIMABUE.

GIOVANNI CIMABUE, descended from a noble family, was both architect and painter. If we take history for our guide, it would seem that he acquired the art from those Greeks who had been invited to Florence, and who, according to Vasari, executed some works in S. Maria Novella. Cimabue seems to have followed them in early life ; and probably it was then that he painted the St. Francis, and the little legendary pieces that surround it, in the church of S. Croce. But that picture, though ascribed to Cimabue, is, if I mistake not, by an unknown hand : at any rate, it neither exhibits the manner nor the colouring even of the earlier works of Cimabue ;—such, for instance, as the St. Cecilia, with the circumstances attending her martyrdom, which was removed from the church dedicated to the saint herself, and placed in that of San Stefano,—a picture far superior to the St. Francis.

However this may be, Cimabue, like other Italians of his time, got the better of his Greek education, which seems to have consisted in causing one artist to go on copying another, without ever attempting to improve upon the manner of his master. He took nature for his guide; corrected, in some degree, the stiff parallelism of attitude which then prevailed; gave animation to the heads; and hit off the folds of the drapery, as well as grouped the figures, much more skilfully than the Greeks. His talent was not for the graceful; his Madonnas are not remarkable for their beauty; his angels have, in the same piece, all of them the same forms. Austere as the age in which he lived, he succeeded admirably in the heads of men full of character, especially those of old men; investing them with a certain air of grandeur and sublimity, which the moderns have scarcely been able to surpass. Endowed with a vast and comprehensive mind, he set the first example of large compositions, which he executed also in large proportions. His two great pictures of the Madonna, at Florence,—the one in the possession of the Dominicans, with certain half-length figures of saints represented on the steps; the other, in the church of S. Trinita, accompanied by those prophets whose looks are so august—do not convey so just an idea of his style as his fresco works in the mother church of Assisi,

where he stands forth a truly admirable painter for the age in which he lived. In those historical pieces from the Old and New Testament, such as still remain—for time has defaced, or, at least, injured many of them—he appears like another Ennius, who, even in his first rude attempts at the Roman epic, emits flashes of genius that would not displease a Virgil. Vasari justly bestows even higher encomiums upon the pictures on the ceiling. They are still in good preservation; and although some of the figures of Christ, and of the Virgin more particularly, retain a good deal of the Greek manner; others, representing the evangelists and doctors instructing the monks of the Franciscan order, exhibit an originality of conception and arrangement which we look for in vain in contemporary works. The colouring is vigorous; the proportions, in consideration of the distance, are gigantic, and not badly preserved: in short, painting may there be said to have attempted what, till then, had scarcely been attempted by mosaic. All these are merits which ought not to be kept back, when we would compare the Florentine artist with the Pisans or the Sienese.

GIOTTO.

IF Cimabue was the Michael Angelo of that age, Giotto was its Raphael. Such elegance did painting assume in his hands, that till the time of Masaccio, no one, either of his own, or of any other school, surpassed, or even equalled him, at least in gracefulness of manner. Giotto was born in the country, and at first led the life of a shepherd; but he was also born a painter, and was continually amusing himself with sketching some object or other around him. A sheep, which he had drawn to the life on a piece of slate, attracted the notice of Cimabue, who happened to be passing by the spot, and who, having obtained his father's permission, took him to Florence, with a view of affording him proper instruction, confident that in him he was about to rear up a new ornament to the profession. Giotto began by imitating his master; but very soon surpassed him. An Annunciation of his, in the possession of the Padri di Badia, is one of his earliest performances; the style, though still somewhat dry, evinces a degree of grace and finish indicative of the improvement we subsequently discern. Through him the symmetry became more correct,

the design more agreeable, the colouring more soft: the meagre hands, the sharp-pointed feet, and goggling eyes, remnants of the Greek style, all assumed more correctness under him.

Of this transition it is not possible to assign the exact cause, as in the case of later painters; yet some cause there must have been, and that referable not solely to the genius of the artist, divine as it might almost be called, but to adventitious helps also. To me it seems that, as the great M. Angelo, by dint of modelling and copying the remains of ancient sculpture, was soon enabled to surpass his master, Ghirlandaio, in painting, so the same must have occurred in the case of Giotto. At any rate, we know that he, too, cultivated sculpture, and that his models were preserved to the time of Lorenzo Ghiberti. Nor was he destitute of approved models to copy from. Florence could boast of various specimens of ancient sculpture, which may still be seen near the cathedral—to say nothing of those which he afterwards saw at Rome—and their merit, then already established by the example of Niccola and Giovanni, of Pisa, could not have escaped Giotto, whom nature had endowed with so exquisite a sense of the chaste and the beautiful. On contemplating certain of his male heads, as well as certain of his figures, displaying a fulness of contour far removed from the meagre forms exhibited by his contemporaries;

on beholding his taste in light, natural, and stately drapery, as well as certain of his attitudes, which, after the manner of the ancients, breathe grace and repose,—one can scarcely doubt that he derived no small advantage from ancient sculpture.

His very first pieces from the life of the patriarch St. Francis, executed at Assisi, near the paintings of his master, show how greatly he had already outstripped him. As the work advances, we find him becoming gradually more and more correct; while, towards its conclusion, he displays greater variety of design in the countenances, and greater accuracy in the extremities; the features, too, are more animated, the attitudes more ingenious, and the landscape more natural. To one who carefully examines these works, their composition appears, perhaps, the most surprising of all,—a branch of the art, in which he not only went on continually outdoing his previous efforts, but sometimes reached a degree of excellence that seems scarcely to be surpassed. Sometimes he sought to impart an air of grandeur to his historical pieces, by the occasional introduction of architectural ornaments, which he usually represented of a red, blue, or yellow colour—such as was then used in staining houses—and not unfrequently of a dazzling white, like that of Parian marble. Among the happiest efforts in the above-mentioned work, is the picture of a man parched with

thirst; to the expression of which scarcely could any thing have been added by the animating pencil of Raphael himself. The like tastefulness, too, distinguishes whatever he executed in the lower church; and these are, perhaps, the best works of this master that have come down to our times; though specimens of them may still be seen at Ravenna, Padua, Rome, Florence, and Pisa. It is assuredly the most spirited of them all, for he has there, with images the most poetical, shadowed forth the Saint eschewing Vice and following after Virtue; and there, I suspect, it was, that he set the first example of allegorical painting, so familiar to his more distinguished followers.

His other works, executed in different cities, which treat for the most part of subjects drawn from the New Testament, are repeated by him in nearly the same manner in several different places, and are usually most pleasing where the proportions of the figures are the smallest. His small pictures, representing different actions of St. Peter and St. Paul, together with some figures of the Virgin and various saints, in the sacristy of the Vatican, look like most beautiful and highly finished illuminations; as also do those others in the church of S. Croce, at Florence, all of them taken from Scripture history, or from the life of St. Francis. The art of portrait painting may be said to date its origin from him, by whom we have

had transmitted to us correct likenesses of Dante, Brunetto Latini, and Corso Donati. Others had attempted it before him, but, according to Vasari, no one had succeeded in it. The art of working in mosaic, too, was improved by Giotto. A mosaic of his workmanship, called the *Navicella di S. Pietro*, may still be seen over the portico of St. Peter's; but so pieced a thing is it now, that it no longer retains any vestiges of the original design, and would no longer be taken for a work of this artist's. Some will have it, that the art of painting in miniature, in those days so much in vogue for the illuminating of missals, was also indebted to him for some improvement. That architecture was so there can be no doubt; the admirable belfry of the Florentine cathedral is the work of Giotto.

Giotto may as truly be called the father of modern painting, as Boccaccio was of modern prose. A Simon da Siena, a Stefano da Firenze, a Pietro Laurati, imparted charms to the art; but they, as well as other distinguished individuals, owed to Giotto the transition from the old to a newer method. This new style he essayed in Tuscany; and, while yet a young man, made such progress in it as to excite universal admiration. No sooner did he return from Assisi, than Boniface VIII. invited him to Rome; no sooner was the Papal Seat transferred to Avignon, than he was invited by Clement V. to pass over into France. Before he

went thither he was constrained to make some stay at Padua; and on his return, a few years afterwards, he was again induced to spend some time at the same place. Italy was at that time, in many of its divisions, under a republican form of government; but it abounded also with powerful families, which domineered over this or that quarter, and which, even while seeking to embellish their country, were aiming at its subjugation. Giotto, in preference to all other artists, was every where in request. The Polentani of Ravenna, the Malatesti of Rimini, the Estensi of Ferrara, the Visconti of Milan, the Scala of Verona, Castuccio of Lucca, and even Robert, King of Naples, eagerly sought to engage him, and for some period retained him in their service. Milan, Urbino, Arezzo, and Bologna, were also ambitious of possessing his works; while Pisa, whose Campo Santo,*—like Corinth and Delphi of old, (Plin. xxxv. 9.)—afforded the most distinguished artists of Tuscany an arena where they might fairly vie with each other, was indebted to

* This spot, which will ever form an honourable monument of Pisan magnificence, would have constituted an inestimable museum, if the paintings executed there by Giotto, Memmi, Stefano of Florence, Buffalmacco, Antonio Veneziano, the two Orcagni, Spinello of Arezzo, and Laurati, or Laurenti, had been preserved in their pristine state; but the greater number of them, having suffered much from damp, were retouched, though not without considerable judgment, during this present eighteenth century.

him for those historical pieces from the life of Job, which, though among his earliest performances, are yet deservedly admired. When Giotto was no more, the like applause was lavished on his disciples: the cities of Italy eagerly contended for the honour of employing them, preferring them even to the native artists themselves. Thus did Giotto serve as a model for students during the whole of the XIVth, as did subsequently Raphael in the XVIth, and the Carracci in the following century; nor do I know where to look in Italy for a fourth manner that has had such general vogue as that of these three schools. There were, indeed, even in other states, some who by dint of innate talent had been led to adopt a new style; they were, however, but little prized, and indeed but little known, beyond the confines of their own country. Of the Florentines alone can it be asserted, that they disseminated the modern style from one extremity of Italy to the other. In the revival of painting, therefore, though not the whole, yet the chief praise is due to them.

ASSOCIATIONS AND METHODS OF THE OLD PAINTERS.

SUBSEQUENT to the death of Giotto, which took place in 1336, I find that painters had multiplied at Florence to an astonishing degree. Not long afterwards—that is, in the year 1349, they formed themselves into a religious fraternity, denominated the Society of St. Luke. This was not the first association of the kind that had sprung up in Italy, as Baldinucci affirms: even previous to the year 1290 there was a society of painters established at Venice, of which Luke was the patron saint. Yet neither could this, nor the Florentine, nor the Bolognese, nor any other similar association, be called academies of design; but simply schools of Christian devotion, such as formerly existed, and still exist, in many of the arts. Nor did they consist of painters only: these, indeed, always occupied the post of honour; but in the same society were incorporated artisans “in metal and wood, whose works afforded more or less scope for design,” as Baldinucci observes of the Florentines. In like manner, in the Venetian association were comprised trunk-makers, gilders,

and the lowest daubers ; in that of Bologna, even saddlers and scabbard-makers.

He who should trace these associations to their source, would find them to have originated in the intermixture of different sorts of work in the handicrafts then in vogue. At that time, all sorts of furniture, such as cupboards, benches, and chests, that were wrought by mechanics, were subsequently painted, and that, too, not unfrequently in the same shop, by those whose business it was to supply ornaments and figures—especially when intended as depositories for the outfit of brides. Many old cabinet pictures have been cut out from such pieces of furniture, and thus been transmitted to posterity. As to pictures intended for altar-pieces, these, throughout the whole of the XIVth century, were never prepared, as is the practice now-a-days, on a part detached from the surrounding ornaments. In the first place, *dittici*—that is to say, little altars, in many parts of Italy called *ancone*—were formed out of wood, and elaborately ornamented with carving.* The de-

* Among Christians, it was a practice of very ancient date, to place upon the altars, during the sacrifice of the mass, silver or ivory *dittici*, which, when the sacred rite was over, were folded up like a book, and taken away. The same make was retained, even after the introduction of the larger altar-pieces, which, in like manner, consisted of two wings, and were easily removed. This custom, of which I have met with but few vestiges in Italy, was for a

sign of these *ancone* was made to accord with the Teutonic, or, as it is commonly called, the Gothic architecture, as seen in the façades of churches built in that age. The whole work was a tissue of minuteness; a compound of little tabernacles, pyramids, and niches; while on the field of the panel were represented various *sam* doors and windows, with semicircular, or pointed arches—a style very characteristic of the period. In the centre I have now and then observed little statues in mezzo-relievo. More frequently, however, the painter placed there entire or half-length figures of saints. Sometimes, too, various little niches—*formelle*—were prepared, for the purpose of admitting small historical pictures. And not unfrequently a step or two was annexed to the little altar, where, in different compartments, were represented historical pieces relative to our Saviour, the Virgin, and the Martyrs, either real or fictitious. The carvers were so vain of their craft, that they sometimes inscribed their own names before that of the painter.*

long time retained in the Greek Church. At length, by degrees, artists betook themselves to painting on a single panel.—(See Bonarruoti, *Vetri Antiochi*, p. 258, &c.)

* Thus, Vasari, in his “Life of Spinello of Arezzo:”—“Simone Cini, of Florence, did the carving; Gabriello Saracini, the gilding; and Spinello di Luca, of Arezzo, the painting, in the year 1385.”

Even cabinet pictures were prepared by the carvers, sometimes as *trittici*, sometimes of an oblong form; and these they enclosed in heavy frames, decorated with rude foliage, or else encircled them with a sort of lacework, or arabesque ornament. At that time, pictures were seldom committed to canvass alone, though I have met with a few pictures of this sort at Florence, and more of them among the Venetians and the Bolognese; in general, however, recourse was had to panel. Such panels as were enclosed in the above-mentioned frames were often covered with canvass, not unfrequently with parchment, and sometimes with leather; in which cases, it is probable they were prepared by those who usually wrought in such materials; and hence the reason why, in some places, even saddlers were incorporated with painters.

From history we learn, that the decorations of painting were lavished, not only on shields designed for war or the tournament, but also on various equestrian accoutrements, as the saddles and trappings of horses. Hence sword-makers and saddlers became associated with painters. Among them, in like manner, may perhaps have been included those who prepared walls for fresco-painting, and who covered them with a reddish ground, which is still not unfrequently discoverable in the flaws. On this colour the figures were designed, and such walls served as the cartoons of

those old masters. They had, moreover, stucco-workers for their coadjutors in the execution of those relieved ornaments which we meet with in fresco-painting. In works of this sort I suspect they used moulds; for the globules, flowerets, and little stars, that we meet with on gilt plaster, gilt leather, gilt board, or even on gilt playing-cards, evidently appear to have been formed with a stamp. Whatever was the substance on which they painted, gold was usually employed; with it they embellished the grounds of their pictures, the glories of their saints, and even their garments and fringes. Although painters themselves were not unskilled in such matters, it appears that they availed themselves of the assistance of carvers and gilders, who, consequently, became classed with painters, and, like them, inscribed their works with their names.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, when the Gothic style of architecture was now going into disuse, the design of the carvers underwent some improvement; it was then that they began to place over the sacred altars oblong panels, separated by various partitions, made to resemble pilasters, or small columns, while between them they sometimes inserted sham doors or windows; so that the *ancona* bore some resemblance to the façade of a palace or church. Above the *ancona*, they now and then placed a frieze,

and above the frieze a sort of pediment, on which other figures were portrayed. The saints they disposed beneath; not unfrequently giving a representation of their actions in some little niche, or on the steps. By degrees the partitions were dispensed with, and the proportions of the figures enlarged, while the saints were ranged on a single panel around the throne of the Virgin, no longer stiff and erect, like so many statues, as had hitherto been the fashion, but in different attitudes and positions,—a custom which prevailed also during the fifteenth century. The practice of gilding the grounds very much declined towards the beginning of the fifteenth century; but the drapery was then more profusely gilded than ever, nor were the fringes ever so deep as at that period; till at length, towards the close of the century, gold was more sparingly employed, and in the following was almost wholly abandoned.

The observations which we have just made will not be altogether useless to the connoisseur, when he happens to be in doubt as to the age of a picture on which there are no written characters. Where there are letters, he may proceed with still greater confidence. The characters commonly called Gothic, are first met with after the year 1200—in some places earlier, in others later; and these Gothic characters were loaded more and more

with superfluous lines throughout the whole of the fourteenth, and till about the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Roman alphabet came again into fashion.

FLORENTINE PAINTERS

FROM THE TIME OF GIOTTO DOWN TO THE CLOSE
OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

FROM the number of painters worthy of commemoration, I do not even exclude Buffalmacco, that facetious individual, whose jokes, recorded by Boccaccio and Sacchetti, have contributed more than his pictures to his celebrity. His real name was Buonamico di Cristofano. He had been a pupil of Tafi's, but having been long the contemporary of Giotto, he had had ample opportunity of modernizing his style. He was a man of a very lively disposition, "and when he chose to take pains and exert himself—a circumstance which rarely happened—he was not inferior to any of his contemporaries." So says Vasari; and pity it is that his best works, which were in Badia and Ognisanti, should have perished, and that none but his less studied performances, at Arezzo and Pisa, should have come down to us. The

best preserved of these are in the Campo Santo—the Creation of the World, where there is a figure of the Eternal Father five *braccia* high, in the act of sustaining the mighty fabric of the universe—and three other historical pieces, representing Adam, his children, and Noah. There, too, we meet with representations of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Saviour. In these pictures we neither meet with beauty, nor sufficient variety, in the heads; the devout women at the foot of the cross display nearly all of them the same features, ungainly in themselves, and rendered still more so by the unsightly opening of the mouth. There is, however, here and there, a male head that rivets the attention, either on account of its vivacity, or the peculiar cast of the countenance, as is especially the case with that of Cain. Sometimes, too, he merits commendation for the air of nature which he has imparted to the action, as in the case of the man who, filled with horror, is seen flying from the scene on Mount Calvary. His draperies are well diversified, distinguished by a variety of stuffs and linings, and elaborately ornamented with flowers and fringes. Even previous to his labours in the Campo Santo, he wrought at S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno, where he had for his companion one Bruno di Giovanni, formerly his fellow-student. Unable to equal Buffalmacco in expression, he usually sought to

supply the deficiency by words; appending to the mouths of his figures a scroll for the purpose of explaining what the features and the action were incapable of conveying; a practice in which, as he was preceded by Cimabue, so was he followed by the whimsical Orcagna and others. This Bruno, together with Nello di Dino, was Buffalmacco's companion in the tricks played off on honest Calendrino. All these are indebted for their celebrity to Boccaccio, who introduces them in the eighth day of his "Decameron."

I suspect, too, that Bernardo Orcagna, whose fame equalled that of Buffalmacco, also belonged to some one of the old schools. He was the son of one Cione, a sculptor, and had a brother Jacopo, who was also a sculptor; another brother, named Andrea, surpassed all the rest of the family, combining in his own person so intimate an acquaintance with the three sister arts, that by some he was deemed second only to Giotto. He is known among architects for having substituted the semicircular for the pointed arch. Bernardo initiated him in the principles of painting. The Paradiso of the Strozzi chapel, in the church of S. Maria Novella, as well as the Inferno opposite to it, was the joint work of Andrea and Bernardo: the two pictures of Death and the Last Judgment, in the Campo Santo at Pisa, were executed by Andrea; that of the Inferno by Bernardo—pic-

tures which Andrea repeated in a still happier manner in the church of Santa Croce, where he introduced the portraits of his enemies among the damned, while those of his benefactors were placed among the elect. In these works he paved the way for those analogous performances, which are preserved in the church of S. Petronio at Bologna, the cathedral of Tolentino, the Badia del Sesto in the province of Friuli, and various other places; where the infernal regions are represented as divided into a variety of abysses, according as Dante had divided them, and these distinguished by a variety of torments. Some few altar-pieces of Andrea's are still in existence. In his compositions he was less chaste, in his attitudes less correct, than the followers of Giotto, to whom he must also yield the palm in symmetry and colouring.

Some notice must here be taken of Bernardo Nello, son of Giovanni Falconi of Pisa, who, in the cathedral of that city, executed a considerable number of pictures, and has been thought to be the same with that Nello di Vanni, who, of all the Pisan painters, was the only one employed in the Campo Santo during the fourteenth century. Francesco Traini, a Florentine, is still known as having been far superior to his master, by a picture of his that still exists in the church of St. Catherine at Pisa, in which he portrayed St. Thomas Aquinas

in his own proper features, and in his greatest glory. St. Thomas occupies the centre of the picture, beneath the Saviour, who sheds rays of light upon the Evangelists and the Saint; while from the latter they are again transmitted to a crowd of hearers—monks, doctors, bishops, cardinals, with here and there a pope. At the feet of the Saint, as if overpowered by the force of his arguments, are seen Arians and other heretics; while, by his side, stand Plato and Aristotle with their works open—a culpable anachronism in a subject like this. In this work we discover no skilfulness of grouping, no knowledge of relief; while it exhibits attitudes either too forced or too tame. The heads, however, possess so much expression, the dresses set before us so exact a picture of antiquity, and the composition evinces such a degree of novelty, that we cannot but contemplate it with delight. Let us now pass on to the followers of Giotto.

The same mischance that befalls the followers of most illustrious men, has, with few exceptions, befallen the followers of Giotto—despairing to surpass, they have merely aimed at acquiring facility in imitating him. Hence, among the Florentines and other artists of the 14th century, who flourished subsequently to Giotto, the progress of art was less rapid than might have been expected. Where, as in several of the above-mentioned cities,

we have an opportunity of confronting Giotto's pictures with those of Cavallini, Gaddi, and others, we invariably find that, all things considered, Giotto appears the most finished master ; and whoever is at all conversant with his style, stands in no need of a laboured description of that of his followers, which, though evidently resembling his, is upon the whole less grand and less graceful. Stefano of Florence is the only one of whom Vasari would lead us to entertain a higher opinion ; according to whose account, Stefano far surpassed Giotto in every department of the art. He was the son of Giotto's daughter Catherine, and inherited a turn for encountering the difficulties of art, and an ardent desire of conquering them. He was the first that attempted foreshortening in painting ; and if in this respect he did not succeed so well as he expected, he at least succeeded in improving the perspective of buildings, as well as in bettering the attitudes, and in imparting greater variety and animation to the heads of his figures. According to Landino's account, he was styled the *Ape of Nature*—the panegyric of a rude age ; for that creature, in its attempts to imitate the works of man, always debases them, whereas Stefano aimed at equalling or embellishing those of nature. In the Campo Santo at Pisa, there is a picture of our Saviour pointed out as his, which is confessedly in a grander style than any of his

master's works; but this picture has been retouched. A Pietà, by Tommaso his disciple, and, as some will have it, his son, still exists in S. Remigi at Florence, than which nothing can be more in Giotto's style; as is the case also with certain frescos of his at Assisi: insomuch that he well merited the epithet Giotto, conferred upon him by his fellow citizens, who used to say that Giotto's soul had transmigrated, and animated him. Giovanni Tossicani, who was employed at Pisa and in every part of Tuscany, was a scholar of Giotto's. In the baptistry of Arezzo, there still exist the figures of St. Philip and St. James, executed by him, and retouched by Vasari while yet a young man; who admits that he learnt a good deal from this work, injured as it was. With him the best branch of the *Giotteschi* became extinct.

Taddeo Gaddi is, as it were, the Giulio Romano of Giotto, his most intimate as well as favourite pupil. Vasari, who saw his frescos and other paintings at Florence, while they were yet in tolerable preservation, alleges that he surpassed his master in colouring and softness of execution. Taddeo lived beyond the term assigned him by Vasari, and survived the best of those whom we have hitherto mentioned. This we gather from a contemporary writer, Franco Sacchetti, who, in his 136th tale, records that Andrea Orcagna started the following question:—"Putting Giotto out of the

question, who was the greatest painter? One said Cimabue, another Stefano, a third Bernardo, a fourth Buffalmacco; in short, some said one, some another. Taddeo Gaddi, who happened to be of the party, observed, These, doubtless, were very distinguished painters, but the art has been, and still is, declining every day," &c.

At his death he left a few disciples, who became the heads of different families of painters at Florence and other places. Taddeo's most intimate disciples, however, were Giovanni da Milano and Jacopo di Casentino. To both of them he commended on his death-bed his two sons, whom he brought up to the profession; Giovanni, who died at an early age, with the reputation of possessing a promising genius; and Angiolo, who, as still standing in need of guardians, must have been very young, and who, according to Vasari, died at the age of sixty-three, or, as Baldinucci adds, in the year 1389. Content to imitate the style of Giotto and of his father, in which he succeeded to admiration, he contributed less to the advancement of art than he might otherwise have done.

To Angiol Gaddi's school is also referred one Antonio Veneziano. We are, however, led to doubt the propriety of this, from Antonio's design and manner in those historical pieces from the life of S. Ranieri, which still exist in the Campo Santo at Pisa; where there is a degree of elegance, a

finish, and a smartness of composition, which savour of another school: added to which, Vasari remarked in them a mode of executing frescos, without once retouching them when dry, which seems evidently derived from another source, and differs widely from that adopted by the Tuscan artists, his competitors; whose paintings, in the time of the biographer, were not in so good a state of preservation as those of Antonio.

According to history, we are indebted to Antonio for Paolo Uccello, who made considerable improvement in perspective; as well as for Starnina, who distinguished himself in the gay style, and some of whose works still remain in one of the chapels of Santa Croce. These are considered as among the last works executed in the style of Giotto, from which succeeding artists now began to depart, in order to pursue a better.

Among the disciples of Taddeo Gaddi, I have already mentioned Jacopo del Casentino, of whose style, which closely resembled that of Taddeo, some vestiges still remain in the church of Orsanmichele. Jacopo initiated in the art Spinello of Arezzo, a man of very lively fancy, as we may gather both from certain pictures of his in that city, and from his life. He was one of those that had the honour of decorating the Campo Santo at Pisa; and to him we owe those figures of the two martyrs, S. Petito and S. Epiro, which Vasari

eulogizes above all his other performances. He is, however, inferior to his competitors, both from the dryness of his design, and the bad choice of his colours, in which green and black predominate to the exclusion of a due admixture of other tints. At Arezzo also, there still remains, in the church of S. Agnolo, the Fall of the Angels, with that terrific-looking Lucifer, the sight of which subsequently, in a dream, so affected his spirits and his health, that he died soon afterwards. To Spinello's school belonged one Bernardo Daddi of Arezzo; as did also Parri, Spinello's own son, who after the manner of Masolino, somewhat modernized his style; a painter of rare merit in the art of colouring, though extravagant in design; making his figures of an excessive length and somewhat stooping, in order that, according to his own account, they might possess an air of greater spirit. Remains of his works are to be seen at Arezzo in S. Domenico and other places. Lorenzo di Bicci, a Florentine, another scholar of Spinello's, was, as it were, the Vasari of his time, for the multitude of works that he produced, the quickness with which he despatched them, and his readiness to be satisfied with them. Santa Croce contains several specimens of them: in the first cloister some pieces from the life of St. Francis, and on the façade an Assumption, in which he was assisted by Donatello, then a young man.

Neri, his son, is considered as one of the last of the *Giotteschi*. He died young, leaving behind him at S. Romolo an altar-piece that might have done honour to his father, and one that was certainly better finished than most works of the latter.

As, during the fourteenth century, painting had a great number of followers at Florence, so also had sculpture a great many followers at Pisa; not that Pisa was therefore destitute of painters worthy of being commemorated. Vasari makes mention of a certain Vicino, who, with the assistance of Tafi and Gaddo, finished the mosaic that Turrina had begun, and says further that he was a painter. According to Morrona he pursued the old style of his school, and not only he but many others, as is evident from various Madonnas on wood, some by anonymous artists, some by artists whose names are known. Subsequently, after the example of the rest of the Italians, the Pisans went on modernizing their style; and, like Florence and Siena, produced families of painters, in which the fathers were surpassed by their sons, and these again by theirs. Towards the close of the century, the power of the Pisans declined rather from civil discord than from any other cause; till at length, in 1406, the city—falling into the hands of the Florentines, humbled in the dust, and stripped not only of artists but almost of inhabitants—lay for a long time in solitude and

wretchedness, and amply gratified the long cherished enmity of rival states.

Meanwhile, the spirit of the Florentines kept pace with the expansion of their territory ; nor had they any thing so much at heart as to give their Capital an air of magnificence worthy of so flourishing a State. Cosmo, at once the father of his country and the patron of men of genius, gave a tone to public affairs. Lorenzo the Magnificent succeeded, and afterwards others of the Medici, whose hereditary taste for literature and the fine arts is recorded in a thousand works. Their house was at once a lyceum for philosophers, an Arcadia for poets, and an academy for artists. Dello, Paolo, Masaccio, the two Peselli, both the Lippi, Benozzo, Sandro, the Ghirlandai, enjoyed the constant patronage of that family, and, as far as in them lay, did it constant homage. Their paintings, which, according to the fashion of the times, were crowded with portraits, continually presented to the populace the features of the Medici ; and not unfrequently, in their pictures of the Epiphany, represented them arrayed in regal ornaments, as if to prepare the people by degrees to behold the sceptre and the royal robe securely established in that family. The good taste of the Medici was seconded by the rest of the citizens, who being at that time divided into different fraternities, according to the different wards they in-

habited or the different occupations they pursued, strove with mutual emulation to decorate both their private dwellings and their churches. Not only were they animated by a regard for the magnificence of their city, but by a feeling of devotion also, which, in matters relating to divine worship, is ever marked by a degree of liberality not only among the great, but even among the lower orders of the people, such that those who have not witnessed it can scarcely be brought to credit it. They had already erected their cathedral, as the scene of the more august ceremonies of their religion; and here and there other churches sprang up: these, and others that were of older date, they vied with each other in decorating with paintings—a luxury unknown to their ancestors, and not yet very common among the other cities of Italy. It was this disposition that gave rise, even as early as the preceding century, to that astonishing number of painters already noticed; and from the same source proceeded, in the century of which we are now treating, that multitude of artisans in marble, bronze, and silver, owing to whose efforts it was that the pre-eminence in sculpture—once the boast of the Pisans—was transferred to the Florentines. It was resolved to decorate the new cathedral and baptistry, the church of Orsanmichele, and other sacred edifices, with statues and bas-reliefs: and hence at once started up Do-

natello, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Filarete, the Rossellini, the Pollajuoli, and Verrocchio; who produced such admirable works in marble, bronze, and silver, that they sometimes appear to have attained the very highest pitch of art, and to have equalled the ancients themselves. By these illustrious men the rising generation were initiated in design; and such was the universality of the principles they inculcated, that the transition from one art to another was rendered easy. Not unfrequently the very same individuals were sculptors, founders in bronze, goldsmiths, workers in *niello*, painters, and sometimes architects too; a circumstance that may well excite the envy of the present age, in which each individual artist is scarcely able to master one single art. So excellent was the method of instruction pursued in the various studios of Florence, and so great the excitement without! whence the reader will not think it strange, that that city should have been the first in Italy on which the golden age of painting dawned. Let us, however, trace the steps by which Florence, and with her the rest of Italy, progressively advanced in art.

The *Giotteschi* had now carried painting beyond the period of infancy, but it still continued to betray its infantine properties in various particulars, especially in *chiaroscuro*, and yet more in perspective. Their figures seem as if about to slide from

the plane in which they are placed ; their edifices have no true point of view ; and the art of foreshortening the human figure was still in a very rude state. Stefano of Florence perceived rather than conquered these difficulties. Others, in general, sought either to avoid them altogether, or in some sort to compensate for them. Pietro della Francesca was the first to revive the practice of the Greeks, who contrived to make geometry conducive to the improvement of painting. He is eulogized by Pascoli, and the best authors, as the father of perspective. This we must understand with reference to painting in general ; for in certain branches of perspective he seems to have been forestalled by others. Filippo Brunelleschi, a Florentine, and born a good many years before the former, was the first to discover the way to bring it to perfection in the representation of buildings. In inlaid work he was afterwards imitated by Benedetto da Majano, in painting by Masaccio, both of whom learnt perspective from him. About the same time, under the guidance of the celebrated mathematician Giovanni Manetti, Paolo Uccello applied himself diligently to the same pursuit, or rather so entirely devoted himself to it, that in labouring to attain to eminence in that, he never got beyond mediocrity in the other branches of the profession. In all his studies this was the object of his aim ; while often he would

say to himself, "How charming a thing is perspective!"—so true it is that novelty is one main source of the delightful. Not a single work did he execute, that did not throw some new light on this department of art; whether that work consisted of edifices and colonnades, which, within a small compass, sometimes convey the idea of a large space; or of figures foreshortened with a degree of skill unknown to the followers of Giotto. In the cloister of Santa Maria Novella, there are certain historical pieces relative to Adam and Noah, which evince a good deal of the novel and fanciful in this branch of painting: there is also a landscape with trees and animals so well executed, that he may be styled the Bassan of early art. He was particularly fond of keeping birds in his house, and of making drawings from them, a circumstance from which he obtained the epithet Uccello. In the cathedral there is a portrait of Giovanni Aguto—John Hawkwood—on horseback, executed by Paolo in *terra verde*, and in gigantic proportions. This was perhaps the first time that painting attempted a good deal, without having appeared to attempt too much.

Masolino da Panicale took to cultivating the art of chiaroscuro. I suspect that he derived no little advantage from having long devoted his time to modelling and sculpture—a practice which, beyond all conception, facilitates the science of re-

lief. Ghiberti, who at that period had none to equal him in design, composition, and the art of giving animation to his figures, had been his master in this branch of the profession. Colouring, which was all he now wanted, to become a painter, he acquired under Starnina, the most eminent colourist of his day. Thus combining in his own person the distinguishing excellences of two different schools, he struck out that new style which, though not wholly exempt from dryness, nor perfected in every part, was yet grand, harmonious, and luminous, beyond all former example. St. Peter's chapel at the Carmine is the great remaining monument of this master. Besides the Evangelists, he there depicted certain pieces from the life of St. Peter—his Call to be an Apostle—the Tempest—his Denial of Christ—the Miracle performed at the Beautiful gate of the Temple—and his Preaching. Being overtaken by death, a few other pieces in this chapel, as, the Tribute paid to Cæsar—the Baptizing of the Multitude—the Healing of the Sick—were executed some years afterwards by his scholar Maso di S. Giovanni, a youth who was wholly engrossed by the thoughts of his profession, and who, from living, as the saying is, from hand to mouth, was nicknamed Masaccio.

Masaccio is a genius who forms an epoch in painting; and Mengs assigns him the first place

among those who paved the way for the modern style. Vasari says, "that the works which had been executed previous to his time might be said to be painted, while his were so true to nature, that they might actually be said to be alive;" and again, in another place, "that no other master of that period made such near approaches to the moderns as he." The groundwork of his style he had formed upon the works of Ghiberti and Donatello; from Brunelleschi he had acquired a knowledge of perspective, and having visited Rome, must necessarily have profited by studying the remains of ancient sculpture. Masaccio's works at the Carmine exhibit, in the attitudes and foreshortenings of the figures, a truth and variety which Paolo Uccello in vain endeavoured to attain. The air of the heads, as Mengs observes, is somewhat after the manner of Raphael; and the expression so appropriate, that the mind seems no less forcibly delineated than the body. The parts of the body exposed to view display at once his judgment and his knowledge of anatomy. That figure, in his Baptism of St. Peter, which looks as if shivering with cold, and on which so many encomiums have been lavished, forms a sort of epoch in the art. The drapery, divested of all littleness of manner, presents a few natural folds; the colouring is true to nature, judiciously varied, delicate, and in the highest degree harmonious;

the relief is of the boldest character. This chapel was not completely finished by Masaccio himself, who dying in the year 1443, and not without some suspicion of having been poisoned, left it still deficient in several historical pieces, which, many years afterwards, were supplied by the younger Lippi. It became subsequently the school of all the more distinguished Florentines whom we shall have to notice in this and the succeeding epoch; as well as of Pietro Perugino, and Raphael himself: and it is not a little singular, that for the space of many years, and in a city fruitful in men of genius ever intent on promoting the art, no one, in following Masaccio's steps, should have attained to that distinction which he managed to acquire without having imitated any one. The different galleries possess but very few of Masaccio's works. In that of the Pitti, there is one held in high estimation—the portrait of a young man, that looks as if it were alive.

Beato Giovanni Angelico. After Masaccio, two friars distinguished themselves in the Florentine school. The first of these, who belonged to the Dominican order, was named Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, or Il Beato Giovanni Angelico. His first employment was that of illuminating books, an art in which he was initiated by an elder brother, who was both a painter and an adept at such illuminations. He is said to have studied the works

in Masaccio's chapel, but considering the difference of their ages, we can hardly admit this to have been the case. His style, too, betrays a different origin. In the works of the friar, we invariably meet with some vestiges of Giotto's manner, both in the attitudes of the figures, and the attempts to atone for the deficiencies of art—to say nothing of the drapery, which he frequently makes to fall down in long plaits; or of that exquisite finish in the minutest particulars, which is peculiar to those who employed themselves on illuminations. Indeed, he departs but little from the style of illuminators in the greater part of his works; which consist of sacred pieces relative to our Saviour and the blessed Virgin, in cabinet pictures by no means rare at Florence. His distinguishing merit is the beauty with which he invests the heads of his Saints and Angels—the veritable Guido of the age, even as regards the sweetness of his colours, which, though merely water-colours, he contrived to blend together with an almost perfect harmony. He was also reckoned one of the best fresco painters of his day; and was employed to decorate, not only the cathedral of Orvieto, but the palace of the Vatican itself, where he painted one of the chapels—a work on which authors have bestowed the highest encomiums.

Benozzo Gozzoli, a disciple of Fra Giovanni's,

and one who also imitated Masaccio, raised himself above the greater part of his contemporaries. In some few respects he even surpassed his model; as in the great size of his edifices, the sweetness of his landscapes, and the attractions of a very lively, fascinating, and romantic imagination. In the Riccardi palace, once the Grand Duke's residence, there is a chapel in good preservation, in which he executed a Glory, a Nativity, and an Epiphany. He there wrought with a profusion of gold on the drapery, unexampled perhaps in fresco painting; and with a fidelity of representation that, as regards the portraits, the garments, the trappings of the horses, and the most minute particulars, reflects an exact image of the times in which he lived. He lived to a good old age, and died at Pisa, where, indeed, his merit may be best appreciated; his works there being preferable to those at Florence both for composition and design, as well as for the more sparing use of gold. The picture of St. Thomas Aquinas, at the cathedral, has been much extolled by Vasari and Richardson; but what most contributes to his celebrity is the number of scriptural pieces with which he decorated one entire wing of the Campo Santo—"a most stupendous performance," says Vasari, "and enough to appal a whole legion of painters;" a work which he completed in the short space of two years. It was here that he displayed a talent

for composition, an adherence to nature, a variety in the countenances and attitudes, a juiciness and liveliness of colouring—glittering with ultramarine—and a faithfulness in the delineation of the passions, that entitle him to the foremost rank after Masaccio. I can hardly believe that he executed the whole without assistance. In the *Noah Inebriated*, the *Tower of Babel*, and certain other pieces, we discern an attempt at the surprising, which we vainly look for in others; where we sometimes meet with figures that betray dryness and mannerism—defects which I should rather be for attributing to some coadjutor than to himself. Time itself, as if conscious of his merit, has respected this work more than any other in the Campo Santo.

Fra Filippo Lippi. The other friar, one who differed widely from Beato Giovanni, was Fra Filippo Lippi, a Carmelite, the scholar, not of Masaccio himself, as Vasari would have it, but of his works. By dint of assiduity in copying them, he might sometimes have passed for another Masaccio, especially in small historical pieces. Of these, some of the choicest are in the sacristy of the church of S. Spirito. In the same church, too, as well as in that of St. Ambrose, and other places, may be seen pictures of his representing the Virgin attended by companies of angels, remarkable for the openness and beauty of the coun-

tenances, and distinguished by a colouring and a gracefulness peculiarly his own. He delighted in a sort of drapery that depended like the serried folds of a surplice, and affected the brighter colours; which, however, he took care to modify and subdue by a purplish tint not often met with in others. In his large fresco-paintings in the parish church of Prato, he has introduced figures larger than life; and the two pieces which he there executed on the subject of St. Stephen and the Baptist, were, in the opinion of Vasari, his master-pieces. His abandonment of the monastic life—his slavery in Barbary—his paintings, executed at Naples, Padua, and other places—his death, brought on by poison administered by the relatives of a young woman who had borne him a natural child, also named Filippo Lippi—may all be found noticed by Vasari. He died at Spoleto, where he had just completed his large picture in the cathedral.

About the same time, Florence produced other artists possessed of some merit, though there eclipsed by men of greater name. Among them may be reckoned—one Berto Linajuolo—and Alessio Baldovinetti, a noble painter, and one who took incredible pains; a good worker in mosaic also, and the master of Ghirlandaio. To these I add Verrocchio, a celebrated sculptor, a clever designer, and a painter too, though rather for amuse-

ment than by profession. While he was employed on a baptism of Christ at S. Salvi, Da Vinci, then a mere youth and one of his scholars, happened to execute an angel in a style superior to that of his master, who, chagrined at being thus outdone by a boy, renounced the pencil for ever.

Another scholar of Masaccio's, as Baldinucci imagines, or more properly another imitator of his, though rather in point of attitude, relief, and disposition of the drapery, than in grace and colouring, was Andrea del Castagno, a name infamous in story. He flourished at the time when the secret of painting in oil having been discovered by John Van Eyck, or John of Bruges—a discovery made about the year 1410*—that secret began to be diffused throughout Italy not only by report, but also by some specimens of the advan-

* Some method of the kind appears to have been known previous to his time, but of too imperfect and tedious a nature to be adopted in historical paintings. "By the old method," says Lanzi, "it was impossible to lay a fresh colour on the picture till the former one had been previously dried in the sun, a method which demanded infinite patience; to which I may add, that the colours could never be perfectly blended together. These disadvantages did not escape Van Eyck; and he then lamented them the more, when, as Vasari informs us, having placed one of his pictures in the sun for the purpose of drying it the quicker, the panel was cracked by the intensity of the heat. It was then that Van Eyck began to think of devising a method of using oil colours of such a sort that, without being exposed to the sun,

tages attending such a method; and when our fellow-countrymen, struck with wonder at the harmony, the softness, and vivacity which the colouring derived from the discovery, longed for once to become masters of it. With this view, one Antonello da Messina, who had originally studied at Rome, having visited Flanders, learnt the secret, according to Vasari's account, from the inventor himself; and having from thence repaired to Venice, communicated it to an acquaintance of his, named Domenico. Domenico, after having produced no inconsiderable number of works in his native place, as well as at Loreto and other parts of the Ecclesiastical State, betook himself to Florence. There, becoming an object of admiration to others, and therefore of envy to Castagno, the latter, under the mask of friendship, induced him to communicate the secret to him; for which he was rewarded with an untimely end, Andrea having treacherously murdered him, in order that he himself might be without a rival in the art. The assassin succeeded but too well in concealing his crime; and while, during the investigations which ensued, several innocent persons incurred suspi-

they might dry of themselves: 'and by the addition of certain ingredients of his, contrived to compose a varnish which, when dry, is proof against water, renders the colours more luminous and brilliant, and contributes amazingly to their amalgamation:' such are Vasari's words."

cion, he always contrived to elude it; till at last, on his death-bed, he voluntarily acknowledged his own guilt and the innocence of others. He is reckoned among the foremost of his time in point of vivacity, design, and perspective, and had also the merit of improving the art of foreshortening.

The painters that now follow, approach the very confines of the golden age of art, of which some of their works betray manifest indications, notwithstanding the dryness of their design, and the generally imperfect blending of their colours; of which the vehicle was usually water—very rarely oil. The painters in question flourished in the days of Sixtus IV., who, having erected the chapel that now goes by his name, invited them from Tuscany. These were Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Rosselli, Luca da Cortona, and Don Bartolommeo d'Arezzo. Manni, who professedly wrote the lives of some of these artists, leads us to infer that this work was executed about the year 1474. It was designed to give, on one side of the chapel, a representation of some passages from the life of Moses—on the other, from the life of Christ: thus the Old Law was to be confronted by the New—the shadow, by the light—the type, by the person typified. The pontiff was no great connoisseur in what relates to the fine arts; but he was very ambitious of that sort of lustre which they shed over the works and the

names of princes. To superintend the work he made choice of Sandro Filipepi, from his first master (who happened to be a goldsmith,) nicknamed Botticelli, and a scholar of Fra Filippo's,—an artist of some note in his day, and still known in the different galleries by a number of pictures containing small figures, which would sometimes hardly be distinguishable from those of Andrea Mantegna, had he but imparted a little more beauty to his heads. An altar-piece or two of his still exists, but none of them worthy to be compared with his performances in the Sistine Chapel. In that chapel we can hardly recognize the Sandro of Florence. The Temptation of Christ, embellished with that magnificent temple; and that crowd of votaries in the vestibule; the Moses, who is seen aiding the daughters of Jethro against the Midianitish shepherds, with that richness and beauty in the drapery, and that novelty in the colouring; together with other subjects, treated with the like vigour and originality, place him before us in a far more favourable light than any of his other works.

History is silent as to whether Filippino Lippi, the son, as we have already observed, of Fra Filippo, was Botticelli's coadjutor in this work. Vasari thinks he was the first to embellish modern painting by the introduction of grotesques, trophies, pieces of armour, vases, edifices, and vest-

ments borrowed from the antique,—an honour to which I cannot admit him to be entitled, Squarcione having long before established his claim to it. True, indeed, it is, that in ornaments of this sort, as well as in landscapes and the most minute particulars, he evinces merit of no ordinary kind. He was invited to Rome to paint a chapel in the church of the Minerva, where there is an Assumption of his, as well as some pieces from the life of St. Thomas Aquinas. In this chapel he improved upon his heads, though he was still surpassed in that respect by his scholar, Raffaellino del Garbo, who painted some companies of angels on the ceiling, that might alone suffice to establish his claim to the epithet by which he is distinguished.

Ghirlandaio. The second whom I mentioned as employed upon the Sistine chapel, is Domenico Corradi, from his father's calling surnamed Il Ghirlandaio, eminent both as a painter and a worker in mosaic, and one who even contributed to the improvement of those arts. During the competition thus going on between rival artists in the Sistine Chapel, he represented there the Resurrection of Christ, which has perished; and the Call of St. Peter and St. Andrew, which are still in being. This is that Ghirlandaio, in whose school, or on whose principles, not only Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, his son, but Bonarruoti himself, and the more distinguished masters of the succeed-

ing era, formed their style,—a man equally remarkable for the correctness of his contours, the beauty of his proportions, the fertility of his fancy, and his uncommon diligence and facility of execution—the first among the Florentines, who, by the help of perspective, attained to skilfulness of grouping, and depth of composition. He was one of the foremost, too, to divest the drapery of those deep gilt borders, which the old masters had introduced ; who, as if conscious of their inability to make their figures beautiful, strove at least to make them gaudy. Even of his pictures, however, there exist a few that are partially illuminated with gold ; as an Epiphany, for example, in the church of the Innocents, at Florence. It is a noble performance, as is also the chapel painted by him in the church of S. Trinità, exhibiting some of the actions of St. Francis ; and a Nativity, in the sacristy of the same church. There is also a very celebrated work of his in the choir of S. Maria Novella, where, on the one hand, he represented some pieces relative to John the Baptist, on the other, relative to the Virgin, together with that picture of the Massacre of the Innocents, on which Vasari has lavished so many encomiums. We there meet with a multitude of portraits of literary men and illustrious citizens ; indeed, almost every head is a portrait : these, however, he either contrived to invest with an air of dig-

nity, or else must have selected only those who inherited it from nature. The hands and feet of his figures do not correspond with the beauty of the other parts: for these last finishing strokes painting is indebted to Andrea del Sarto, in whose works we seem to recognize Ghirlandaio's manner ennobled and perfected. This master must not be confounded with his scholars, as is the case in many collections, where the Holy Families, executed by his brothers or his pupils, are made to pass for his: these pictures, however, are very far from meriting the encomiums we have justly bestowed on Ghirlandaio's.

Cosimo Roselli. In the works carried on at the Sistine Chapel, Vasari bestows less commendation on him than on any of his coadjutors. Unable to equal his rivals in point of design, he overloaded his pictures with glaring colours and gilt fringes; a practice which, though condemned by the improving taste of the times, yet pleased the Pope, who commended and rewarded him more than any of his competitors. Perhaps his best performance in the Sistine, is the Christ delivering his Sermon on the Mount; of which the landscape is said to have been executed by Pier di Cosimo, another painter, who was more to be commended for colouring than for design; as is evident from a picture of his at the church of the Innocents, as well as from his Perseus in the Ducal Gallery.

Both these artists, however, are well-known in history: the former as the master of Baccio della Porta,—the latter, of Andrea del Sarto.

No other native of Florence was employed on the decorations of the Sistine. Piero and Antonio Pollajuoli, however, who were at once sculptors and painters, went thither not long afterwards, and there executed the bronze monument of Sixtus IV. Some works of theirs are still to be seen at S. Miniato, near Florence. In these works we discover vestiges of Castagno's manner—whose scholar Pietro was—in the austerity of the countenances, and the strength and juiciness of the colouring, which is in oils. Antonio, Pietro's scholar, turned out an excellent painter, considering the period; in the chapel of the Pucci family, at the Servi, there is a Martyrdom of St. Sebastian by him—one of the very best altar-pieces of the fourteenth century I have ever beheld. The colouring, indeed, is not of first-rate merit, but the composition excels that of the times in which he lived; while the design, in those parts of the human figure exposed to view, shows how much attention he had paid to anatomy,—the first, perhaps, among the Italian painters, who, by laying bare the muscles of the human frame, acquired an accurate knowledge of their play and situation.

Luca Signorelli and Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, the two that now follow, were invited from

the Florentine territory to assist in the decorations of the Sistine Chapel. Luca Signorelli, a native of Cortona, and a scholar of Piero della Francesca, was a spirited and expressive painter; one of the first among those of Tuscany who displayed a correct knowledge of the anatomy of the human frame, though he could not altogether divest it of stiffness. The cathedral of Orvieto affords a proof of this; with that crowd of naked figures, whose attitudes even Michael Angelo did not disdain to imitate. Although in the greater part of his works we meet not with much elegance of form, nor sufficient blending of the tints, yet in certain others, especially the Communion of the Apostles, painted for the church of the Jesuits in his native city, we find a degree of grace and beauty, and a style of colouring, approaching that of the moderns. In the Sistine Chapel he gave a representation of Moses' Journey with Sefora, and the Promulgation of the Old Law,—pieces abounding with figures, and these better grouped than is usual with the confused compositions of the age. Among the crowd of competitors at the Sistine, Vasari and Taja have assigned the foremost place to him; to me, he seems, at any rate, to have equalled the best of them, and to have acquitted himself better than on any other occasion.

Don Bartolommeo della Gatta executed nothing at the Sistine from designs of his own: he merely

acted as an assistant to Signorelli and Pietro Perugino. He had been educated at Florence, in the monastery of the Angeli, but rather as an illuminator of books than as a painter. According to Vasari's account, Don Bartolommeo's precepts, or, more properly speaking, his works, were of no little benefit to Vante, or, according to his own manner of writing his name, Attavente, a native of Florence, celebrated for his illuminations.

I close the catalogue of the earlier Tuscan artists, with the name of an illustrious Lucchese, Paolo Zacchia, surnamed the elder, who was probably initiated in the art at Florence, though he did not always conform to the manner of the older masters of that school, either in design, which constituted his *forte*, or in his sharply defined contours, which constituted his principal defect. He is styled the elder Zacchia to distinguish him from another of the same name, who displayed greater softness of contour, and greater strength of colouring, but who, in design and every other department of the art, was his inferior.

Such, then, was the state of art in Tuscany towards the commencement of the sixteenth century. Much had been accomplished; for painters had now succeeded in imitating nature, especially in the heads, to which they contrived to impart a degree of life and vivacity, which excites our astonishment even at the present day. When we con-

template the figures and the heads of that period, they seem as if they were actually looking at, and about to enter into conversation with, the spectator. Even yet, however, it remained to give ideal beauty to the figure, fulness to the design, and harmony to the colouring; as well as a greater degree of correctness to the aerial perspective, greater variety to the composition, and greater freedom to the pencil, which most artists still handled with timidity. In Florence, as well as elsewhere, every thing conspired to promote improvement. A taste for splendid structures had now sprung up among us. Many of the finest churches of Italy, many of the public and ducal palaces which still exist at Milan, Mantua, Venice, Urbino, Rimini, Pesaro, and Ferrara, were erected about this time; to say nothing of various other structures at Rome and Florence, where magnificence and elegance seemed to vie with each other. These, of course, required ornamenting, and hence that noble emulation among rival artists—that grand ferment of ideas, which invariably accelerates the progress of art. The study of poetry, so nearly allied to that of painting, went on increasing to such a degree, as might well have entitled that age to the epithet *golden*—an epithet which it certainly did not merit on the score of more severe studies. The design of those masters, though somewhat dry, being yet chaste and cor-

rect, supplied excellent lessons for the instruction of the succeeding age. It is a very just observation, that it is easier for the scholar to impart a certain fulness to the meagre outline of his model, than to divest a heavy contour of its redundancy. Hence some professors have been led to infer, that it would be far more judicious to habituate beginners to the precision characteristic of the fifteenth century, rather than the exuberance introduced in after times. Such a concurrence of favourable circumstances produced the happiest era that distinguishes the annals of painting. It was then that the different Italian schools, which, owing to mutual imitation, had hitherto evinced a strong mutual resemblance, having at length arrived at maturity, began each of them to display a distinct character—a character properly its own.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF
ENGRAVING ON COPPER AND WOOD.

As in printing, the use of wooden types led to the adoption of metal ones, so did the art of engraving on wood pave the way for that of engraving on copper. The origin of engraving on wood is involved in great obscurity. French and German

writers have warmly asserted the claims of their respective countries to the invention, both of them referring it to playing-cards, which the former pretend to have been invented in the time of Charles V., while the latter maintain that they were in use in Germany at a much earlier period, namely, previous to the year 1300.* The first to combat these opinions was Papillon, in his "Treatise on Engraving on Wood," where he vindicates the claim of Italy to the discovery, affirming that the oldest specimens were executed at Ravenna about the year 1285. His account of the matter is given in the Preface to the fifth volume of the Sienese edition of Vasari's work; but it is interspersed with matters so hard to be credited, that I deem it best to take no further notice of it. Tiraboschi has advocated the cause of Italy in a much more plausible manner. On the subject of playing-cards he adduces a manuscript of one Sandro, son of Pipozzo di Sandro, entitled, *Trattato del Governo della Famiglia*, "Treatise on the Management of a Family." It was written in the year 1299, and has been quoted by the authors of the Cruscan Dictionary, who, among other passages, cite the following:—"If he shall play for money, or thus, or at cards, you shall provide them for him," &c.—*se giucherà di denàro, o così, o alle*

* See Heineken's "Idée Générale d'une Collection," &c. p. 239, &c.

carte, gli apparecchiari, &c. Playing-cards, therefore, were known among us earlier than any where else; and if the invention of engraving on wood is to be dated from them, we have then good reason to lay claim to it. But in all probability it cannot be dated so far back: the oldest playing-cards must have been wrought with the pen, and coloured by illuminators; a practice originally adopted in France, and not wholly laid aside in Italy in the days of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. The first indication we have of stamped playing-cards, is in a public decree made at Venice in 1441, where it is said that "the art and trade of preparing cards and stamped figures, carried on at Venice," had declined, "in consequence of the great quantity of playing-cards and stamped coloured-figures" imported from other places; and it is there decreed that the importation of them should for the future be prohibited. Zanetti, to whom we are indebted for this piece of information, observes, that they must have been in use long before the year 1441; for we find that the art was at one time in a flourishing condition, that it subsequently declined, and finally revived again owing to the protection afforded it by the government. Such vicissitudes, which suppose a long course of years, carry us back at least to the commencement of the fifteenth century. To this epoch it would seem we must refer those old play-

ing-cards, now in the collection of the Marquis Girolamo Durazzo. The figures are there represented on a gold ground: they consist of three kings, two queens, two knaves, one knight, each of which holds either a staff, a sword, or money. I could discover no vestige of suits, either because they were not then in use, or more probably because the small number of cards that has come down to us, are insufficient to give a correct idea of the entire game.

Meanwhile, the art of printing being introduced into Italy, the practice of embellishing books with wood-cuts was also introduced. The Germans had already set the example of executing wood-cuts of sacred subjects. The same example they set in the initials of certain words in the infancy of printing; and this invention was carried still further at Rome, in a book published in 1467, and at Verona in another published in 1472. The first contains Cardinal Turrecremata's meditations with figures engraved in wood, and then coloured; the second is entitled, *Roberti Valturii Opus de Re Militari*, and is embellished with a number of figures, as well as with representations of warlike engines, fortifications, and assaults. After this beginning, engraving on wood went on constantly improving, and was cultivated by men of the greatest genius; in Germany, for instance, by Albert Durer; in Italy, by Mecherino of Siena,

Domenico delle Greche, Domenico Campagnola, and others, down to the time of Ugo da Carpi.

If, in matters of discovery, it is the property of the human mind to be led on progressively from the easier to the more difficult, we might infer that engraving on wood paved the way for engraving on copper; and perhaps, in some places, so it did. Vasari, however, refers its origin to *niello*-work—a sort of engraved inlay—an art of very ancient date, much in vogue during the fifteenth century, especially at Florence, but one which went into disuse in the following, in spite of Cellini's efforts to maintain it. It was employed not only on silver articles of a sacred character, such as chalices, missals and other religious books, reliquaries, *paci*; but on those of a secular character also, as the pommels of swords, the (*posate*) services of the table, clasps, and other feminine ornaments. It was also much employed on certain ebony escrutoires, which were here and there ornamented with little silver statues and little metal plates inlaid with figures, historical pieces, and flowers. The plan pursued was this: the proposed story, portrait, or flower, was cut with the burin on the silver, and the cavity thus made was then filled up with a mixture of silver and lead, which from its dark appearance was by the ancients styled *nigellum*, whence our countrymen have coined the shorter word *niello*: thus the

mixture being incorporated with the silver, the dark hue of the one became contrasted with the brightness of the other, and the whole work assumed the character of a chiaroscuro in silver. Many were there who distinguished themselves by this species of inlay ; and, among others, the three Florentines who wrought in competition with each other at S. Giovanni—Matteo Dei, Antonio del Pollaiuolo, and Maso Finiguerra, whose *paci* we find so highly extolled for the astonishing delicacy of the engraving.

From Maso, according to Vasari, must we date “the origin of engraving on copper ;” an art, which, to render my account of it the more perspicuous, I shall consider as distinguished by three several stages of advancement ; the first of which I am now about to enter upon. It was Finiguerra’s practice not to fill in with *niello* the cavities or cuts made in the silver plate, till he had first taken the precaution of proving his works. “He used to take an impression of them on earth, and then covering it over with liquefied sulphur, another impression resulted, which was filled in with lamp-black ; so that being oiled over it had the same appearance as the silver plate. The same operation he performed also with moistened paper, using the same colouring matter, pressing it with a round but very smooth roller, which gave the impressions not only the appearance of

being stamped, but made them look as if designed with the pen.* So says Vasari in his introduction to the Life of Marcantonio. He adds, that in this respect Maso was followed by Baldini, a Florentine goldsmith; after whom he mentions Botticelli, and might also have mentioned Pollaiuolo: he concludes, at length, that the invention passed from thence to Rome, where it was communicated to Mantegna, and into Flanders, where it was communicated to Martino, styled De Clef. The first kind of proofs taken by Finiguerra have in great part perished.

With regard to Finiguerra's paper proofs, it is not known for certainty that a single specimen now remains, save that of the Assumption which

* Vasari, whose brevity has caused him to be but little understood by some, contents himself with merely hinting at the different steps of Maso's process, which were as follows. Having engraved the plate, previous to filling in the inlay he took an impression of it on very fine earth; and as the engraving itself was erect and sunken, the earthen proof was inverted and in relief. This was covered with liquefied sulphur, and a second proof taken, which of course would be erect, and what in the former was in relief would here be sunken. The sulphur impression was then covered with lamp-black, so that the sunken parts which were to form the shadow might be filled up with it; while next, the portion of the sulphur-ground, meant to represent the lighter parts, was gradually divested of it: such is the method still pursued in engraving on copper. The last step was to give it a coating of oil, in order to impart to the sulphur cast the lucid appearance of silver.

the Abbé Zani recognized in the national collection at Paris, and published in 1803; to which I may add the Epiphany—less elevated in point of style, but more carefully finished—which I met with in the possession of the Senator Martelli, and of which I am aware there is a duplicate in the possession of his Excellency Seratti. In the Durazzo collection may be seen proofs taken by various *argentieri*—all of them unknown—for the discovery of which we are indebted to Antonio Armano.

Many of these proofs came from the old Gaddi collection at Florence; and are the workmanship of artists inferior to Finiguerra, with the exception of two specimens that would do him no discredit. To these were subsequently added not a few others of the different schools of Italy. Their origin may sometimes be ascertained from the design; though with still greater certainty from the inscriptions and other less equivocal marks. For example, on a Nativity we meet with the following inscription in words which run from right to left—*Dominus Philippus Stancharius fieri fecit*; where the name of the family, which is mentioned, added to other circumstances, points to Bologna as the place of its execution. There is also a little print representing a female in the act of turning towards a cat, and on it is this inscription, *Va in la Caneva*; while on another may be seen the fol-

lowing, *Mantengave Dio*; both of them Lombard or Venetian, so far as we can judge from the dialect. From all which we may infer, that those expressions of Vasari's, in which he ascribes to Finiguerra the practice of proving his works previous to filling in the *niello*, cannot be confined to him alone or to his school.

Paper proofs, then, taken by *niellatori*, are to be met with throughout the whole of Italy, and may be recognized more particularly by the position of the letters, which being engraved on the originals from left to right, come out on the proof, like Oriental characters, from right to left: in the same manner, too, the rest of the impresssion is inverted; for instance, a Saint, whose dignity of character would entitle him to a place on the right, is seen standing on the left, while, in like manner, all the other actors in the piece are seen writing, playing, or attitudizing with the left hand.

From these beginnings, as it appears to me, engravers passed on, in some places earlier, in others later, to what I denominate the second stage of the art. On perceiving the fine effect of those proofs, they conceived the idea of executing works in the same minute and delicate style, and of employing them in the same way that they had hitherto employed engravings on wood. Thus did the goldsmith's shop become the cradle of copper-plate engraving, and the first attempts of the kind were

made on silver, on tin, or as Heineken expresses it, "on a composition softer than copper." He observes, (and it is worth noticing,) that the *Italians* pursued this plan before they engraved on copper. But whatever was the material employed by those goldsmiths of the olden time, it was an easy matter for them to substitute the shadow of the cavity or cut itself, for the shadow produced by the *niello*, and to make the engraving inverted, in order that the proof might come out erect. From that time the art went on gradually improving. As a roller or an imperfect press was then employed, the better to succeed in the impression, they enclosed the stone in a wooden frame by means of four small nails, to prevent it from slipping; on that they placed the paper, and on the latter a wetted linen cloth, which was afterwards pressed down with force: whence, in prints that are really of first-rate antiquity, we may sometimes discern the marks of the cloth on the back: felt, which leaves no mark, was afterwards substituted. Various tints were tried, but all of them gave place to that azure hue which predominates in the greater part of the older engravings. In this manner were executed about that time the fifty cards, commonly called Mantegna's game. Who the author was is a mystery. The design is very like Mantegna's and that of the Paduan school; though the engraving itself is not alto-

gether in the style of Andrea, nor of any other known master of that age.

To pass from cards to books: the first attempts to decorate them with engravings on metal are well known. The most celebrated are the *Monte Santo di Dio*, and the *Commedia of Dante*, published at Florence, and the two editions of Ptolemy's Geography, the one published at Bologna, the other at Rome; to which we may add Berlinghieri's Geography, edited at Florence; all three with illustrations. The authors of these engravings are not exactly known; save that, on consulting Vasari, it would seem that the chief merit of them is due to Botticelli. He both executed illustrations of the "Inferno, and engraved them;" and the two historical pieces, of which Gio. de Lamagna has given engravings in his Dante, have so much of Sandro's design and composition, that we cannot entertain a doubt of their being his.

The last stage of copper-plate engraving I denominate that in which, after the invention of the press and the discovery of printing-ink, the art of which I am treating began to verge towards perfection. It is no easy task, so far as Italy is concerned, to fix an epoch from which to date this improved condition of the art. The very artists who had made use of the roller, lived, in some instances, to avail themselves of the press; as Nico-

letto da Modena, Giovanni Antonio of Brescia, and Montagna, of whose engravings, we find, as it were, two editions, the one struck off with the roller and betraying very weak tints, the other with the press and exhibiting good ink. It was then that engravers, fearful that others might lay claim to their performances, began to affix their names to their works more regularly, at first in initials, and afterwards at full length. The Germans were the first to set the example of this. They were imitated by those of our countrymen already noticed; as well as by one who surpassed all his predecessors—Marcantonio Raimondior Marcantonio Francia. This latter was a native of Bologna; and was initiated by Francesco Francia in the art of inlaying in *niello*, in which he greatly distinguished himself. Proceeding next to engraving on copper, he commenced by graving some of his master's works. At first he imitated Montagna, then Albert Durer, and subsequently improved himself in design under Raphael. This latter also afforded him still further assistance, and even gave up to him his colour-grinder, Baviera, to superintend the press; so that Marcantonio, applying himself solely to engraving, was enabled to publish that multiplicity of specimens from Raphael's designs which we now meet with in different collections. He did the same with regard to a good many old works, and no few modern ones also,

such as those of Bonarruoti, Giulio Romano, and Bandinelli; nor is the number of those small of which he was at once the inventor and the engraver. Two of his scholars, Agostino of Venice and Marco of Ravenna, both acted as his assistants, and became his successors in engraving Raphael's works; so that Vasari might not unfairly say, in his life of Marcantonio, that "Agostino and Marco between them engraved nearly all the works that were ever designed or painted by Raphael." Thus, in Raphael's studio, by means of Marcantonio and his scholars, did engraving reach the highest pitch of excellence within but a few years from the time of its invention. Since that period no one has yet started up, whose mode of treating it displays either a more thorough knowledge of design, or greater precision of contour. In certain other niceties, it received considerable improvement from Parmigianino, who made use of aquafortis; as well as from Agostino Carracci, and various foreigners, such as Edelinck, Masson, Audran, and Drevet, during the last century; and, during this present eighteenth century, a considerable number of Italians and foreigners, whom this is no fit occasion to notice more particularly.

It is, however, a fit occasion to take a brief view of that controverted point, whether it is to Germany or to Italy that we are indebted for the invention of copper-plate engraving; and if to

Italy, whether to Florence or to some other place. That in this branch of art we may distinguish three successive grades or stages of improvement, seems to me to be satisfactorily proved by what has already been advanced. By attending to this distinction, we may the better determine what share of the merit is due to each particular country. Vasari, and with him Cellini and most others, have ascribed the origin of the art to Florence and to Finiguerra. Doubts, however, were subsequently raised; and Bottari himself, an author of such recent date, and a Florentine into the bargain, treats it as a question "involved in uncertainty." It was about the year 1452, that Antonio Pollaiuolo, then a young man, as Vasari observes in his life, wrought in competition with Maso in the church of S. Giovanni: and as, even at that period, Maso's "name was in high repute," we cannot but conclude that he was already no mean proficient in the art. We may suppose, therefore, with Gaburri and Tiraboschi, that, as he had taken proofs "of every one of his engravings on silver," he must have pursued this plan as early as 1240, and probably a few years earlier: here then we have the origin of copper-plate engraving deduced with sufficient historic evidence from Florence. In no other country does either history, or any existing monument of the art, or any arguments that have been adduced, lead

us back to a period equally remote. Let us, for a proof of this fact, first turn to Germany.

Germany possesses no accounts on the subject which carry us back to so remote a period. In Germany, Meerman and Heineken can discover no engraver of older date than Martino Schön, who died in 1486. Not long after him we meet with Israel Meckeln, Van Bockold, Albert Durer's master Michael Wolgemuth, and not a few others, who come down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Some, however, will have it, that copper-plate engraving was known in Germany previous to these artists; because we meet with prints by unknown artists "which have the appearance" of greater antiquity. Meerman notices one of them having the initials C. E. and bearing the date 1465; Heineken also mentions two others, the first marked *f* *†* s, the second *b* *x* s, ciphers of unknown artists. He says he has never met with engravings of an older date having the name inscribed; and observes, that their style is similar to that of Schön, though more uncouth, whence he suspects that their authors were the masters of the latter. But whoever may have been Schön's master, Heineken concludes that that master must have been of an earlier date than Schön himself by at least ten years; and thus we are carried back to the year 1450, as the period at which the art of engraving must have been

practised in Germany. And because this seemed to him too little, he afterwards adds, that "he had endeavoured to carry back the date of that invention" at least to about the year 1440.

The cause is ably pleaded, but it is not yet gained. Let us oppose argument to argument. The Italians have history on their side—the Germans find it adverse to their claims. The former, without any difficulty, go back to the year 1440, and even still further; the latter, by dint of mere conjecture, have been enabled to get back to 1450, and *have only attempted* to anticipate that date by a period of about ten years. The former date from Maso, not from Maso's master; the latter, not from Schön himself, but from his master: which privilege must either be denied to the Italians, and then the two cases are no longer on an equal footing; or else must be accorded to them also, and then they, too, will be able to antedate the origin of engraving on copper in Italy by the same space of ten years. To corroborate this testimony of history in their favour, the Italians bring a variety of authentic monuments, such as proofs of the *niello* inlay, engravings of the earliest date, and specimens of the gradual progress of the art from its infancy to its maturity: the Germans, to compensate the want of historical records, have recourse to monuments, some unquestionably

spurious, some doubtful, and easily proved to be inconclusive.

It remains for us to examine whether, putting Germany out of the question, any part of Italy may have anticipated Finiguerra in the invention of which we are treating. There have been some, who, in opposition to his claim, have brought forward impressions made by metal seals, which are to be found on Italian records, even from the earliest times. This only proves that this invention, like various others, has for several ages been on the point of being discovered; but it does not prove that the origin of the invention is to be attributed to the use of seals. Certain rude first principles, antecedent to all records, which lay for so many ages without being improved upon, and had nothing to do with the inventions of the moderns, ought not to have a place in the history of those inventions; nor must the history of engraving be traced to any other source than the silver-smith's shop, where engraving both originated and came to maturity. Hence we have only to compare those *proofs* of their performances which have come down to us, and examine whether such proofs were taken any where else before the time of Finiguerra. Where we are unable to ascertain from other sources the actual date, we have but two clues, if I may so say, to guide us in the

solution of this problem—the written character and the design. The character of the letters, in all those proofs that have come under my observation, has nothing whatever about it of what is commonly called the Gothic; it is rounded like the Roman character; this, therefore, agreeably to the observation made at page 25, carries us no farther back than 1440. The design is of a more questionable nature. In the Durazzo collection, I met with some *niello* proofs more rudely designed than Maso's works, and these, perhaps, belong to some other school than that of Florence. But supposing it to be ascertained that a certain proof belonged, for example, to the Bolognese school, must it, because it happens to be of a ruder style than Finiguerra's, therefore be more ancient? The more dry, the more rude, the more uncouth specimens cannot fairly be brought forward against Finiguerra in proof of their greater antiquity; otherwise, we shall fall into Scalzo's humorous piece of sophistry, who affirmed that the Barongi were the oldest men in Florence, and even in the world, because they were the most deformed.—(Decamerone Giorn. vi. nov. 6.)—Let Maso, then, enjoy the merit of the discovery till some one else shall produce *proofs* of a more ancient date than those taken by him on paper and sulphur.

During the second stage of engraving, I shall make no mention of German masters, concerning

whom I have but insufficient data to go upon; but shall confine my observations to those of Italy. Vasari is of opinion that this second stage of the art took its rise in Lower, Lomazzo, in Upper Italy. Vasari, in his "Life of Marcantonio," says, "that Finiguerra was succeeded by Baccio Baldini, a Florentine goldsmith, who, having no great merit in design, in all that he executed availed himself of the invention and designs of Sandro Botticelli. This matter coming to the knowledge of Andrea Mantegna, then at Rome, caused him to set about engraving a considerable number of his own works." Now Vasari, in his "Life of Sandro," points out the precise time at which the latter applied himself to engraving. That was, when, having completed his works in the Sistine Chapel, and returned forthwith to Florence, "he illustrated a part of Dante, giving engraved representations of the Inferno, on which he spent a great deal of time, and which, owing to his neglect of his other occupations, became to him a source of infinite embarrassment." Here, then, we have Botticelli, an engraver, as early as the year 1474, or thereabouts, when he was probably about thirty-seven years of age; and Baldini, who executed nothing, except from designs of Sandro, an engraver also. At the same time with these two, and with a yet higher reputation for genius, Antonio Pollaiuolo also cultivated the art of en-

graving. Very few of his engravings have come down to us, though among them is his celebrated battle-piece, abounding with naked figures,—the last step in the gradual progress towards the bold style of Michael Angelo. The date of these works must be placed somewhere about the year 1480, for Pollaiuolo having risen into repute in consequence of them, was, towards the year 1483, invited to Rome to execute the tomb of Sixtus IV., who died in that year.

On the other hand, Mantegna, who, about the year 1490, painted the chapel of Innocent VIII., at Rome, must, according to Vasari, be considered as having cultivated engraving either about that or the preceding year—that is to say, about the sixtieth year of his age. He lived sixteen years longer. And are we to believe, that in this time he executed that astonishing number of copper-plate engravings—said to amount to about fifty, thirty of which are unquestionably genuine—of which the style is so grand, the figures so numerous, and, for the most part, the finishing so exquisite, after the usual manner of Mantegna's works? Lomazzo would lead us to entertain a very different opinion; for at page 682 of his "Treatise," on mention of Mantegna's name, he subjoins this brief panegyric: "A skilful painter, and the earliest engraver of prints in Italy;" where, as he does not call him the *inventor*, but

the *earliest engraver* of them, he would seem to derive from him the origin of this second stage of engraving, in Italy, at least; for he believed the art to have already existed in Germany. Such an authority is by no means to be slighted. I am not surprised, therefore, that Meerman should look upon Andrea as having cultivated engraving before either Baldini or Botticelli. For the rest, it is no easy matter to assign the precise period at which Mantegna began to handle the burin. To me it seems certain that he commenced at Padua; for the masterly manner in which he evidently handled it in every engraving, is not what we should look for in a young beginner; nor is it to be supposed that he would have set about acquiring such an art in old age. Some think they have discovered a specimen of his engraving, bearing a date, in a work of Pietro d'Abano's, entitled, "A Treatise on Poisons," published at Mantua, in 1472, "in the first page of which the initial letter is seen engraved in copper, and occupying the whole width of the column. Hence it is evident that the art of engraving on copper was known as early as the year 1472." So says Panser, (*Ann. Typogr.* ii. 4,) of whom I know not whether he ever saw the work itself, which is in folio, and consists of seven pages.

To me, however, it seems not to admit of a doubt, that about the period in question, not only

were engravings on metal executed at Mantua, where Mantegna resided, but at Bologna too. There is, in the possession of the Corsini family at Rome, as well as in that of the Foscari at Venice,* a copy of Ptolemy's Geography, printed at Bologna by Doménico de Lapis, bearing the date (probably erroneous) of 1462. It contains six-and-twenty maps, engraved in a very rude manner, but yet so greatly admired by the printer, that in the Preface he extols this new invention, and compares it to the discovery of printing itself, which had not long before been made in Germany. Meerman, however, and other learned men, will have it that the date requires correcting; induced more especially by the catalogue of the correctors of the work, among whom we find mention of Filippo Beroaldo, who, in 1462, was only nine years of age. Hence Meerman thinks that we ought to read 1482; Audifredi and others, 1491: opinions in which I cannot readily coincide. For Ptolemy's Geography having issued from the press at Rome, embellished with seven-and-twenty elegant maps, in 1478, what must have been the impudence, or rather the madness, of the Bolognese printer, if we should suppose him to have so emphatically extolled his own edition after the appearance of one incomparably superior! We

* Now in the collection of the Abbé Mauro Boni.

must, therefore, carry the date of the Bolognese engravings a few years farther back than the printing of the work, which probably belongs to 1472. The earliest copper-plates that we can refer to with any degree of certainty at Florence, are the three elegant engravings of the *Monte Santo di Dio*, published in 1477, and the two in the two cantos of Dante, published in 1481; of one of which, as a sort of third specimen, there is a duplicate in the same book: these all seem to have been struck off with the roller, the art of inserting the copper-plates among the types being then unknown. The one-and-thirty maps that embellish Berlinghieri's book, which was printed about the same time, though without date, are also worthy of being commemorated, in whatever way they may have been executed. In these, too, we meet with some heads with the names *Aquilo*, *Africus*, &c., but all of them of a youthful cast, and tolerably well designed; whereas, in the Bolognese maps the same heads are represented of different ages, with beards and caps, and in a ruder manner. The works above noticed issued from the press of Niccolò Todesco, or Niccolo di Lorenzo de Lamagna, the first of the Florentine printers whose works were embellished with engravings.

All that now remains is the last and perfected state of copper-plate engraving, for which, as it seems to me, we are as clearly indebted to Germany,

as we are for the discovery of printing. The press which the Germans invented for the purposes of printing, served to pave the way for the copper-plate press. The construction was necessarily different; the object in the former case being to take the impression from types somewhat in relief; in the latter, from plates hollowed out by the burin. It was then, too, that a sort of ink was introduced, not of the same pale and dusky hue as that which had been used for wood-cuts, but, as Meerman styles it, "*singulare ac tenuius*." This last and improved stage of the art, the same writer dates from about the year 1470. History, at any rate, goes to show that this improved state of the art was brought to us from Germany by that same Conrad Sweyneym, who got up the beautiful Roman edition of Ptolemy. From the Preface, prefixed by an anonymous writer, we learn that Conrad laboured three years at this work, and left it imperfect; whence it was continued by Arnold Buckinck, and published by him in 1478, as I have already observed. The prints evince a degree of elegance that excites our admiration, and must have been struck off with the press. It has been supposed that Conrad set about the work towards the year 1472; one thing, at least, appears certain, viz. that the engravings were struck off as early as 1475. Nor must I neglect to observe, that Botticelli may have been ena-

moured of this novel art at Rome; for scarcely had he returned from that city, about the year 1474, before he began to execute copper-plate engravings for books, with all that ardour which Vasari describes; and was, in fact, the first who engraved entire figures and historical pieces. As to his engravings never having been of a very finished character, this may perhaps be ascribed to his being unacquainted with the art of taking off the impression of the plates and the types on the same page, as well as to the circumstance that the press and the above improved method were unknown except in the shops of the German printers. However this may be, it seems at least certain, that a long time elapsed before our engravers improved on that imperfect state of the art which I have just described. In the days of Marcantonio, who began to come into notice after the year 1500, the art was now matured and disseminated throughout Italy; inso-much, that he was enabled to enter into competition with Albert Durer, and Luke of Holland, equalling them in the mechanical parts of the art, and surpassing them in design. From this triumvirate must we date the more flourishing era of engraving; and from the same period, the more flourishing era of painting. The newly-discovered art diffused throughout every school the best models of design, which served as guides to the

earlier artists of the fifteenth century. After the example of Albert Durer, they who copied from nature learnt to design more correctly, as well as to introduce into their compositions, if not greater taste, at least greater variety and copiousness, as is observable in the Venetians of that period. The more pains-taking of the others, following the examples with which Marcantonio supplied them of the works of Raphael, and the more distinguished Italians, set themselves to impart greater elegance to their designs, and a more judicious arrangement to their compositions; as we shall find during the progress of the history of painting itself, of which, after a digression not altogether unprofitable, we now once more resume the thread.

FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

EPOCH II.

DA VINCI, BONARRUOTI, AND OTHER EMINENT ARTISTS, FORM THE MOST FLOURISHING EPOCH OF THIS SCHOOL.

EVERY nation has its virtues and its vices; and whoever undertakes to write the history of a people, should freely applaud the former, and honestly acknowledge the latter. It is the same

with the various schools of painting, of which no one is so perfect as to leave us nothing further to desire; no one so faulty as not to have much in it that we may commend. The Florentine—I speak not of its more distinguished masters, but of its artists in general—has no great merit in point of colouring, whence Mengs was wont to style it a melancholy school; nor has it much in point of drapery, whence some one else observed, that at Florence the drapery of figures seemed to him to be selected and fashioned with economy. It does not excel in relief, which it did not generally cultivate till the last century; nor does it evince any great powers of beauty, owing, perhaps, to its being for a long time destitute of the finer specimens of Grecian sculpture; for it was late before Florence acquired possession of the Venus; nor would it, but for the kind attention of the Grand Duke Peter Leopold, now have had to boast of the Apollo, the group of the Niobe, and other choice remains. Hence the Florentine school aimed only at that fidelity of representation usually to be found in the works of those who copy closely from nature; and in general, it knew how to select its subjects. In the composition of pictures of a larger size it could not boast of superior grouping; and in these one would rather feel disposed to erase a superfluous figure, than add another that might seem more necessary.

In keeping, truth, and historic accuracy, it surpasses most schools.

The distinguishing excellence, and, as it were, hereditary patrimony of this school, is design. It may also claim the peculiar merit of having produced a great number of excellent painters in fresco; an art so superior to that of painting in oil, that Bonarruoti looked upon the latter, compared with the former, as mere sport: such dexterity and address does it require, by the necessity it imposes of uniting excellence of workmanship with rapidity of execution—objects the most difficult to be attained in any pursuit. Finally, the Florentine school was the first to set the example of proceeding scientifically, and according to general rules. Some other schools have originated in a careful attention to natural effects; mechanically imitating the external appearances, or, if we may be allowed the expression, the superficialities of objects. But Da Vinci and Bonarruoti, the two grand luminaries of this school, like true philosophers as they were, penetrated into the immutable springs and established laws of nature; and by this means established maxims, which not only their own followers, but foreigners also, have adopted, to the great improvement of the art.

LEONARDO DA VINCI.

LEONARDO DA VINCI, so called from a town of the lower Valdarno, was the natural son of one Pietro, a notary of the *Signoria* of Florence, and was born in 1452. Nature had endowed him with a genius uncommonly elevated and penetrating, eager after discovery, and ardent in the pursuit of it; not only as regards the three arts dependent on design, but in the mathematics also, in mechanics, hydrostatics, music, and poetry; to say nothing of the attainments necessary to form an accomplished cavalier, such as horsemanship, fencing, and dancing. So completely had he mastered all these, that whenever he exercised himself in any one of them, the spectator might have imagined he had made that one his sole study. Moreover, this vigour of intellect was in him combined with a comeliness of person and a gracefulness of manners, that gave additional lustre to the noble qualities of his mind. Hence he was a favourite both with foreigners and with his fellow-citizens—both with private individuals and with princes; with the latter of whom he passed a great portion of his life on terms of intimacy and almost of friendship. Thus, without giving himself much

trouble, he was, as Vasari observes, always enabled to live like a man of rank.

Da Vinci acquired the art of painting from Verrocchio, and as we have already observed, while still a youth surpassed his master. Of this his early education he ever afterwards retained some vestiges. Like Verrocchio, he too designed more willingly than he painted; geometry was the constant object of his study: in his design and in the choice of his heads he preferred elegance and vivacity of expression to fulness of contour; he also paid great attention to the drawing of horses, and the representing of the skirmishes of soldiers; and rather aimed at improving the art, than at adding to the existing specimens of it. His master was an excellent sculptor, as is manifest from his St. Thomas, in the church of Orsanmichele at Florence, and from the horse, in that of St. John and St. Paul at Venice. In like manner, Da Vinci not only modelled in a very superior style the three statues cast in bronze by Rustici, for the church of St. John at Florence, and the colossal horse at Milan; but, by the help which such knowledge afforded him, he contrived to impart to painting that perfect relief and roundness in which it was still deficient. He also invested it with additional symmetry, grace, and spirit. For these and other merits he is esteemed the father of modern painting; although some of his works, as

Mariette has observed, are not wholly exempt from that poverty of manner which characterizes those of the old school.

Da Vinci pursued two methods; the one abounding in shadow, which serves admirably by way of contrast to set off the lights; the other possessing more repose, and produced by means of middle tints. Each style is remarkable for the gracefulness of the design, the accurate development of the passions, and the delicacy of the pencilling. In his paintings every thing wears an air of gaiety—the groundwork, the landscape, and the adventitious embellishments of necklaces, flowers, and architectural ornaments; but more especially the heads. In these he is apt to repeat the same idea, investing them with a smile which delights the mind of the spectator. He did not, however, give the last finishing touch to his heads; on the contrary, from some unaccountable timidity, he often left his pictures in an unfinished state, as I shall observe more particularly when I come to treat of the Milanese school.

The life of Leonardo may be divided into four periods; the first of which is the portion of time he spent at Florence, while still a young man. To this period, as it seems, may we assign not only the Medusa of the Ducal Gallery, and the few pieces pointed out by Vasari; but those others also, which have less depth of shadow, less variety

in the folds of the drapery, less of selection than of delicacy in the heads, and which seem derived from the school of Verrocchio. Such is the Magdalene of the Pitti palace at Florence, and that of the Aldobrandini palace at Rome; some few Madonnas and Holy Families in different galleries, as the Giustiniani and Borghese, for example; some heads of the Baptist, which I have met with in various places; though from the great number of Leonardo's imitators, there is often room for doubt as to the genuineness of such pieces. The Infant Jesus, laid on a highly decorated couch, wrapped in rich swaddling clothes, and adorned with a necklace, to be seen in the collection of his Excellency the Gonfaloniere of Bologna, is in a different style, and of unquestionable authenticity.

After this first period, Leonardo was induced to visit the court of Lodovico Sforza, at Milan, "for the purpose of performing on the harp, of which the latter was particularly fond: on this occasion, Leonardo carried with him one which he had constructed with his own hands—a curious and novel instrument, in great part composed of silver." All the musicians assembled there being vanquished, and the whole city struck with admiration at the extraordinary talent he evinced as an improvisatore and an orator, he was retained by the prince, and continued there till the year 1499, engaged in

various abstruse studies, and in mechanical and hydrostatical works for the service of that State. With the exception of his celebrated *Last Supper*, he painted but little during this period; but by superintending an academy of the fine arts, he inculcated such a soundness of principles, and left behind him such illustrious pupils at Milan, that this period may, as we shall see, be considered as the most glorious of his life.

After the decline of Lodovico Sforza's fortunes, Leonardo returned to Florence, and having remained there about thirteen years, repaired to Rome on the accession of his former patron Leo X. to the papal chair; but his stay at the latter place was short. To this epoch are referred some celebrated works of his at Florence, such as the far-famed portrait of Monna Lisa, the labour of four years, and after all left unfinished—the cartoon of S. Anna, prepared for an altar-piece at the Servi, which he could never prevail upon himself to colour—and the other cartoon of the Battle of Niccolò Piccinino, executed in emulation of Michael Angelo's for the Sala del Consiglio, and, like that, never painted; Da Vinci having failed in his attempts to invent a method of painting in oil on plaster. He probably adopted some other novel method in painting the picture of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus in her arms, in the monastery of S. Onofrio at Rome—a picture in the manner

of Raphael, but one which has now, in many places, peeled off from the wall. There are various other beautiful works which, were it permitted us to indulge in conjecture, might well be assigned to this era; in which Leonardo, having, if we may so say, attained the acmé of his proficiency, and being as yet exempt from other cares, may have acquitted himself better than at any other period. Such is the piece which for a long time was preserved at Mantua, and which, at the sack of that city, is thought to have been stolen and subsequently concealed; till at length, after various vicissitudes, it was sold, at a high price, to the imperial family of Russia. It is a Holy Family, behind which is seen standing erect a female figure, of a countenance at once dignified and highly beautiful. Such also, and of an age corresponding with the period in question, is that portrait of his in the *Stanza de' Pittori* of the Florentine gallery, a head which, for energy of expression, surpasses every other in that apartment; as well as another head in a different apartment, called the portrait of Raphael; together with that half-length figure of a young Nun, so highly extolled by Bottari, and pointed out as one of the greatest curiosities in the splendid mansion of the Marquis Niccolini. Such also are certain of his more admired performances in the possession of some of the Roman princes, as—the picture called the

Christ Disputing in the Temple, and that which passes for the portrait of the Queen Joanna, embellished with beautiful architectural ornaments, in the Doria palace—the Vanity and Modesty in the Barberini palace, the colouring of which no imitator has ever yet been able to hit off exactly—and in the Albani palace, the Madonna that appears to be begging for the lily which the Infant Jesus holds in his hand, while the latter seems to draw back, as if unwilling to part with it; an exquisite picture, and preferred by Mengs to every other in that fine collection. It would argue presumption, however, to attempt to assign a date to every picture, especially in the case of an artist who rose to eminence in early life, continually essayed new methods, and frequently abandoned a work before it was completed.

When this celebrated painter had attained his sixty-third year, he appears to have renounced the art for ever. Francis I., who about the year 1515 saw his *Last Supper* at Milan, thought of getting it severed from the wall and carried into France; but, failing in his project, resolved to prevail upon the author himself, though now advanced in years, to visit that country. He invited him, therefore, to his court; and Da Vinci must, in all probability, have felt little regret at quitting Florence. Since his return thither, he had found in the young Bonarruoti a rival who was now quite able to

enter into competition with him; nay, one who was even employed in preference to him both at Florence and Rome; inasmuch as he furnished his employers with works, while, according to Vasari, Da Vinci put them off with words. It is notorious that they were on bad terms; and Leonardo, consulting his quiet, which there is but little chance of enjoying in the midst of rivalry, withdrew into France, where, without having ever employed his pencil, he died in the year 1519.

His style, though highly worthy of imitation, was less followed at Florence than we shall find it to have been at Milan: nor is this to be wondered at. At the former place Da Vinci left no picture in public; nor did he there rear up any pupil. At Florence we meet with pictures by unknown artists, in the possession of private individuals, that look as if they were the work of Da Vinci; and which those who want to sell sometimes even extol as his, relating with a grave face the high prices they have fetched. These may have been executed by Salai or others of Da Vinci's imitators, who profited by his cartoons, his sketches, and his few paintings. Of all the Florentines, one Lorenzo di Credi, whose real name was Sciarpelloni, was, according to history, the closest follower of Da Vinci. Educated, as well as Da Vinci, in the school of Verrocchio, he adopted nearly the same maxims; he was of the like pa-

tient turn, and wrought with the same nicety and exactness, but approached less closely to the softness of the moderns. There are, in the possession of different individuals, many circular Holy Families of his, executed with an inventiveness and gracefulness that remind us of Leonardo.*

MICHAEL ANGELO BONARRUOTI.

MICHAEL ANGELO BONARRUOTI, memoirs of whom were published by two of his disciples† during his life-time, was born three-and-twenty years after Leonardo. Like him, he was endowed with a quick wit and ready utterance: insomuch that his witty sayings may rank with those of the Greek painters recorded by Dati; or, indeed, with those of the smartest and most facetious speakers. He had not Da Vinci's taste for the elegant and the graceful; his genius, however, was of a bolder and more comprehensive character. Hence he was enabled to attain the highest eminence in each of

* Giovanni Antonio Sogliani, and Giuliano Bugiardini, were also distinguished as imitators of Da Vinci; particularly the latter, whom Lanzi compares, in this respect, to Luini himself, the Milanese imitator of Leonardo.

† Vasari, and Ascanio Condivi.

the three sister arts; and in each of them has left behind him specimens that might have immortalized three different artists, had his pictures, his statues, and his architectural works, been the production of as many different authors. Like Da Vinci, he too gave such proofs of talent even from his boyhood, as compelled his master to acknowledge his own inferiority. This master was Domenico Ghirlandaio, who, through fear of losing his pre-eminence in painting, had sent away his own brother Benedetto to France; and who, dreading perhaps the rare abilities of Bonarruoti, turned his attention to sculpture. For Lorenzo the Magnificent—being desirous of encouraging the art of sculpture, which at Florence was then somewhat on the decline, and having collected in his garden of St. Mark many remains of ancient art, the care of which he had consigned to Bertolo, a scholar of Donatello's—requested Ghirlandaio to procure him some young man to be there brought up as a sculptor; and the latter accordingly sent him Michael Angelo. This proceeding was a source of vexation to the youth's father Lodovico, who deemed the profession derogatory from his son's high birth; yet in the end he had no reason to regret it. Lorenzo, finding he had attained his object, not only pushed Lodovico's fortune, but retained Michael Angelo in his palace, rather as a

relative than a dependant,—making him sit at table with his own sons, with Politian, and other learned men, who were then the ornaments of his court. During the four years that he continued there, he laid the foundation of every liberal accomplishment, and more especially cultivated poetry; whence, in his sonnets he was enabled to equal Da Vinci, and to relish Dante,—a bard who delights in themes too deep and abstruse for the grasp of vulgar minds. For design, he had recourse to the works in Masaccio's chapel, and with the same view copied the remains of antiquity in Lorenzo's garden, as well as applied himself to anatomy; and this science, to which—not without great detriment to his health—he is said to have devoted twelve years in all, led to his characteristic manner, and thus paved the way for his future pre-eminence and glory.

To such studies may we trace the source of that peculiar style, which procured him the name of the Dante of art. As that poet courted themes very difficult to be handled in verse, and from an abstruse subject extracted the praise of depth and grandeur; so did Michael Angelo seek out the most thorny path of design, and, in pursuing it, acquire the highest reputation for science and sublimity. Man, as he is made to appear in Bonarroti's works, assumes that form which, according

to Quintilian,* Zeuxis always delighted to represent ; so vigorous is he, and muscular, and robust. His foreshortenings and his attitudes are of the most difficult kind ; his expression full of vivacity and energy. There are yet other points of resemblance between them—a certain parade of knowledge, for example, whence Dante has sometimes appeared to critics more of a preceptor than a poet, Bonarruoti more of an anatomist than a painter—and a certain neglect of the beautiful, from which the former frequently, and, if we abide by the decision of the Carracci and Mengs, the latter sometimes, degenerates into harshness. I shall not, however, pretend to decide on points like these, which depend entirely upon taste : I will only remind the reader that this comparison must not be carried too far ; for the poet, from a disposition to court the difficult both in matter and versification, has sometimes gone so much out of his way, that he cannot always be proposed as a pattern ; whereas every drawing, every sketch, and much more every larger work of M. Angelo's, is regarded as a model in art ; and while, in the former, we discern symptoms of constraint, in the latter all is nature and ease. It was a saying of his, that a man ought to have the compasses in

* Zeuxis plus membris corporis dedit, id amplius atque augustius ratus ; atque ut existimant Homerum secutus, cui validissima quæque forma etiam in fœminis placet.—*Inst. Orat.* XII. 10.

his eyes; a maxim apparently borrowed from Diodorus Siculus, who affirmed that the Egyptians carried their measures in their hands, the Greeks theirs in their eyes. Nor is such a panegyric inapplicable to our artist; who, whenever he handled either the pencil, the crayon, or a piece of charcoal, though it were but in sport, seemed, if we may so say, infallible in every part of design.

Bonarruoti was lauded to the skies by Ariosto, no less for his skill in painting than in sculpture;* but Condivi, and most others, prefer his chisel to his pencil; and it must be confessed, that he employed the former more professedly, and with greater reputation to himself. He knows not what sculpture is, who knows not how to appreciate—his Moses, at the tomb of Julius II., in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli—his Christ, in that of the Minerva—his Pietà, in St. Peter's—and the statues of his to be seen at Florence, in S. Lorenzo, and in the ducal palaces; in themselves a school of revived art. I will not extol them so extravagantly as Vasari does, who, speaking of the colossal David placed near the Palazzo Vecchio, affirms that “it bore away the palm from every other statue, ancient or modern, Greek or Roman;” nor shall I follow Bottari, in whose opinion Bonar-

* Duo Dossi, e quel che a par sculpe e colora
Michel più che mortale Angiol divino.

ruoti "has far surpassed the Greeks, whose statues, when larger than life, are not of a very superior order." I have often heard competent judges declare that, without wronging the ancient masters, we cannot even compare one of the moderns to them, much less give that modern the preference: besides, I must not wander too far from the subject of my story—the canvass and its varied hues.

Not, indeed, that I have any great deal to offer even on this head, so far as regards M. Angelo, who painted but little; as if, conscious of his supremacy in sculpture, he dreaded appearing as a second or third-rate painter. The greater part of his compositions were, as we have already observed of Da Vinci's, nothing more than mere sketches: hence, though one or two cabinets may be rich in his designs, not one of them can boast of many of his paintings. The cartoon of the Battle of Pisa, prepared with a view to dispute the palm with Da Vinci's, in the Sala of the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, is said to have been a miracle in this branch of art. Mariette takes for granted that Da Vinci himself, by his example, paved the way for this great work; but at the same time admits that he was outdone by it. Not content with representing the engagement between the enemy and such of the Florentines as were already armed, M. Angelo feigned the attack to have been made

on the Florentine van while a portion of the latter were bathing in the Arno; and hence, seizing the opportunity of depicting a number of naked figures, in the act of issuing from the river, and hurrying to arm and defend themselves, he was enabled to introduce foreshortenings the most novel, and attitudes the most terrific; in a word, the highest degree of that peculiar excellence in which he is acknowledged to be supreme.

The cartoon, of which we have thus far been treating, is lost; and this loss has been imputed to Baccio Bandinelli, who was charged with having destroyed it, either that no one else might profit by the study of it, or else, because, out of partiality to Da Vinci, and hatred to Bonarruoti, he was anxious to withdraw from the public gaze a subject of comparison which could not but exalt the reputation of the latter above that of the former. The charge, however, has never been satisfactorily proved; nor, indeed, need we trouble ourselves much about the supposed culprit, who, though eminent in design and sculpture, painted but very few pieces, which may almost all be reduced to a *Noah Inebriated*, and a *Limbo de' SS. Padri*. Baccio very soon renounced painting, and M. Angelo would seem to have done the same, for he was invited to Rome by Julius II. in his capacity of sculptor; and when, about the year 1508, the Pope wished him to paint the

ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, he wanted to excuse himself, and sought to transfer the task to Raphael.

Being, however, constrained to accept it, and wholly unaccustomed to work in fresco, he invited some of the more distinguished fresco-painters from Florence to assist, or, more properly speaking, to instruct him; and having gained all the information he wanted, defaced what they had done, and set about the work alone. When he had completed about half the work, he exhibited it for a short time to the public. He then set about the remainder; but not getting on quick enough to satisfy the impatient Pontiff, threats were held out to induce him to use greater dispatch; so that, singly, and in the short space of twenty months, he contrived to finish the vast portion that was still left. I have said singly, for such was the delicacy of his taste, that no one else could satisfy him; and as, in sculpture, he made with his own hands every auger, file, and chisel that he used; so, in painting, "he not only mixed the grounds and made the other necessary preparations and implements, but even ground his colours himself, not caring to trust to apprentices and assistants." It is here we behold those august and finely varied figures of the Prophets and Sibyls, whose style, Lomazzo—an impartial judge, because of a different school—pronounces to be, in his opinion, "the best the world has ever seen."

Here, indeed, the dignified air that pervades their features—the solemn majesty that beams in their eyes—the singular and unusual disposition of the drapery—and the very attitudes, whether representing rest or motion, all announce a race of mortals to whom the Deity vouchsafes to reveal the future, or whose mouths utter what he inspires. Nor did he display less skill in his pictures of the Creation of the World, the Deluge, the Judith, and the others in the different compartments of that vast ceiling. All is variety and ingenuity in the drapery, the foreshortenings, and the attitudes; all is novelty in the composition and the design. He who contemplates the historical pieces executed by Sandro and his associates on the walls, and then, raising his eyes to the ceiling, beholds M. Angelo—*che sopra gli altri come aquila vola*—“soaring on eagle wing above them all,” can hardly be persuaded that one who was unpractised in painting, could, in this his first essay, so far have outstripped the greatest of the old masters, and thus have opened a new career to the moderns.

In the succeeding pontificates, M. Angelo, entirely taken up with sculpture and architectural works, almost wholly renounced the pencil; till at length Paul III. prevailed upon him to resume it. Clement VII. had conceived the idea of getting him to represent, in the Sistine Chapel, two

other grand historical pieces—the *Fall of the Angels*, over the entrance; and the *Last Judgment*, on the opposite façade, over the altar. M. Angelo had even prepared designs for a *Last Judgment*, and Paul III., who was aware of the circumstance, compelled, or rather, besought him to set about the work; for he went in person to M. Angelo's residence, accompanied by no less than ten cardinals,—an honour unparalleled in the annals of art. At the suggestion of Sebastiano del Piombo, the Pope was anxious to have the picture painted in oils; but this point he could not carry, M. Angelo having replied, that he would not execute it except in fresco, and that oil-painting was occupation fit only for women and idlers, or such as had plenty of time on their hands. Causing the plaster, therefore, prepared by Fra Sebastiano, to be pulled down, and substituting a rough-cast more to his mind, he spent eight years upon the work, and exhibited it to the public in 1541. If he could not altogether equal his own expectations in the frescos on the ceiling, nor retouch them here and there, as he could have wished, after they were dry, in this immense painting he had a fair opportunity of satisfying himself, and displaying his extraordinary powers to his heart's content. He contrived to people the whole of this vast space; covering it with a multitudinous assemblage of figures, awakened by

the sound of the last trump,—crowds of angels and of devils, of the elect and the condemned—some rising up from the tomb, others standing erect—some soaring to the mansions of the blessed, others hurried away to the place of torment.

There have not been wanting those, as Bottari observes, who, on comparing this picture with those of other artists, have sought to depreciate it; remarking how much its author might have improved it in expression, colouring, composition, and elegance of contour. Notwithstanding this, however, Lomazzo, Felibien, and others, have not failed to acknowledge his supremacy in that particular branch of art, in which it was, in all his works, and more especially in this of the Last Judgment, the object of his ambition to attain it. The subject itself seemed not so much to have been selected by him, as to have been expressly made for him. To a genius so vast, and so deeply versed in delineating the human figure, no subject could be better adapted than the general resurrection; to an artist who delighted in the terrible, no story better suited than the terrors of the day of judgment. In every other accomplishment of art he found himself anticipated by Raphael; he saw that this was the only one in which he could expect to come off triumphant; and perhaps, too, he was not without a hope that posterity might award the palm to him, should

they find him to have been foremost in the most arduous walk of art. His confidant, Vasari, who coincided in his views, seems to give some intimation of this in two passages of his "Life of Michael Angelo." He informs us that, intent "on the great object of art—the delineation of the human figure—he neglected the graces of colouring, and the attractions of fanciful and novel conceits;" and observes, on another occasion, that, "neither landscapes, trees, nor edifices, are to be found in his works; nor do we meet with much variety, or many of the adventitious charms of painting, for to these he never paid any attention; as if, conscious of his mighty powers, he would not deign to stoop to these more trivial matters." I cannot suppose M. Angelo chargeable with such senseless arrogance, or such indifference to his own improvement in an art, which, embracing every object in nature, cannot be confined to one solitary branch of it—as the delineation of the human figure; nor to one single character—as the awful style in which that artist excelled. I am rather disposed to think, that, perceiving his peculiar aptitude for this style, he did not choose to attempt any other. Here he proceeded, as in his own proper sphere, and, what one cannot defend, would not keep within bounds, or submit to any control. This *Last Judgment* was filled with such a crowd of naked figures, that the work had well nigh been

defaced in consequence of it. Out of regard for the decency of the sanctuary, Paul IV. purposed to have had it covered with whitewash, and was hardly diverted from his purpose by the correction of its more glaring indelicacies; some drapey having been introduced here and there by Daniel of Volterra, to whom the Romans, with their usual love of sarcasm, from that circumstance applied the new-coined epithet of *Brachettone*, or the "Breeches-maker."

Other improvements have been suggested by different critics, both with regard to costume and composition. Thus M. Angelo has been censured for confounding together sacred and profane history; the Angels of the Apocalypse and the Stygian Ferryman; Christ, the Universal Judge, and Minos, who assigns his proper station to each of the damned. To this profanation he also added satire; investing Minos with the features of a certain master of the ceremonies, who, with a view to prejudice the Pope, had pronounced this picture fitter for a bagnio than a church. In matters of this sort, M. Angelo must not be proposed as a pattern. Scannelli, in his "*Microcosm*," (p. 6,) has expressed a wish that there had been greater variety in the proportions of the different figures, and that their muscularity had also been made to vary with their age; although, by a manifest anachronism, he fathers this piece of criticism on

Da Vinci, who died in 1519. Albani, as quoted by Malvasia, (tom. ii. p. 254,) says, that "Had M. Angelo seen the works of Raphael, he would have known how to represent the spectators that surround the judgment-seat of Christ in a better manner than he has done;" where I know not whether it is the composition or the perspective that displeases him: this, however, I know, that he, too, is guilty of an anachronism, in thus supposing the Last Judgment to have been executed before Raphael went to Rome.

Moreover, I must not omit to notice that Albani failed not to do justice to M. Angelo's distinguished merit; not imitating the fashion of the present day, in admitting only three great luminaries of art, but adding Bonarruoti as a fourth, who, in his opinion, surpassed Raphael, Coreggio, and Titian, in sublimity and anatomical accuracy. (Malvasia ii. 254.) And here we may observe, that M. Angelo, when he was so disposed, knew how to acquit himself with credit in those branches of the art in which those others are supreme. It is a commonly received opinion, that he had no taste for beauty or grace; and yet the Eve of the Sistine Chapel, who, at her creation, turns round to offer up her thanksgivings to her Maker, is made to do it with an air so lovely and engaging, that it would do no discredit to a follower of Raphael himself. So captivated was Annibal

Carracci, not only with the Eve, but with many other of the naked figures on this grand ceiling, that he proposed them to himself as models of art, and even preferred them to those of the Last Judgment, which, according to Bellori, appeared to him too anatomical. In chiaroscuro he may have fallen short of the exquisite skill and softness of Coreggio: the pictures at the Vatican have, however, a force and relief, to which a just tribute was paid by that eminent connoisseur, Renfesthein, who, in passing from the Sistine Chapel to the Sala of the Farnese palace, failed not to point out to those strangers, to whom he acted as guide and preceptor at the same time, how greatly the Carracci themselves were surpassed in this respect by Bonarruoti. Dolce, in his "Dialogue on Painting," pronounces a less favourable opinion of his colouring; as might, indeed, be expected from one who was prepossessed in favour of Titian and the Venetian school. Yet no one can deny, that M. Angelo's colouring in the above-mentioned chapel, is admirably adapted to the design; and the same was most probably the case with the two historical pieces in the Pauline Chapel—the Crucifixion of St. Peter, and the Conversion of St. Paul—though time has impaired them too much to allow us to give a decisive opinion on the subject.

With the exception of those contained in these

two chapels, no painting of M. Angelo's is to be met with in public; and those which, in the different galleries, are pointed out as his, are almost all the works of other hands. During his abode at Florence, he executed for Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, a most beautiful Leda; which, however, was not sold to him. M. Angelo, disgusted at the manner in which it was demanded by one in that prince's suite, refused to give it up to him, choosing rather to make a present of it to his *protégé*, Antonio Mini, by whom it was taken into France, and there sold. Another picture of his, representing the Virgin, and the Infant Saviour standing on a fragment of rock beside the cradle—a figure painted to the life—is said to have been formerly in the possession of the Mozzi family, at Florence, and to have been subsequently transferred to the cathedral of Burgos, where it still remains. M. Angelo also executed a circular Holy Family, with naked figures in the distance, for Agnol Doni. It is now in the Tribune of the Florentine gallery, and in the highest state of preservation. Richardson and others have extolled it for the vigour of its tints, but it is in water-colours. Hence, placed beside the works of the best masters of every school, who, in that theatre of art, seem, as it were, to stand in awe of each other, it looks the most scientific, but the least beautiful picture; its author stands before us the

most accomplished draughtsman, but the feeblest colourist among them all. In it, too, the aerial perspective is somewhat neglected; for while the figures in the distance are duly diminished, the light is not so managed as to render them proportionably indistinct,—a fault by no means uncommon in that age. With regard to certain other pictures pointed out as his in different collections at Florence, Rome, and Bologna, as well as in the catalogue of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna, and in the royal collections in Spain—pictures which were often repeated, and can hardly be mistaken; as, for instance, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, the Infant Jesus Sleeping, and the Prayer in the Garden—it is not so easy to determine whether they sufficiently exhibit the peculiarities of his style. They present us with M. Angelo's design, but, in all probability, with the execution of another hand. Vasari's silence appears to prove this; their high finish, too, altogether incredible in an artist, who, even in sculpture, very rarely attempted finish, would seem to argue the same thing; and the decision of Mengs, and of various connoisseurs whom, for my own satisfaction, I have consulted on the subject, confirms me in this opinion.

Many figures and historical pieces were designed by M. Angelo, and executed at Rome by Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, an excellent colourist of

the Venetian school ;—as the Deposition, in the church of St. Francis, at Viterbo,—the Scourging, Transfiguration, and other pieces, at S. Pietro in Montorio. To his designs also we are indebted for two Annunciations, which were afterwards executed as altar-pieces by Marcello Venusti, of Mantua, a scholar of Perino's, who adopted M. Angelo's style, without appearing to affect it. These were placed, the one in the church of St. John Lateran, the other in that della Pace. Some few cabinet pictures, too, are pointed out as having been executed by him from Bonarruoti's designs,—as the *Limbo*, in the Colonna palace,—the Christ on his way to Mount Calvary, together with some other pieces, in the Borghese palace,—to say nothing of the celebrated copy of the Last Judgment, which he painted for Cardinal Farnese, and which may still be seen at Naples. From a design of Bonarruoti's, too, it was that Batista Franco painted his Rape of Ganymede. In like manner, Pontormo finished a picture from the design of the Venus and Cupid, at Florence ; and another from the cartoon of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. Francesco Salviati made a painting from another of Bonarruoti's designs ; and Bugiardini also executed some figures which had been sketched by him. Such is the information handed down to us by Vasari ; and well would he have deserved our censure, if, while he

wrote thus particularly of M. Angelo's designs, and of those who executed paintings from them, he had neglected to tell us that M. Angelo himself had coloured some of them, had such really been the case. Hence, the Annunciation, the Scourging, and other oil-paintings mentioned by Bottari, D'Argenville, and the describers of collections, as the work of M. Angelo, cannot very easily be admitted as his. We have already noticed his aversion to this method of painting: we read, that even during his life-time, he substituted others in this branch of art; and we know that, even after his death, artists continued to avail themselves of his designs. With what face, then, could we ever question the authenticity of any picture, were we readily to admit the genuineness of those oil-paintings ascribed to M. Angelo? Those portraits of Bonarruoti, too, said to be the work of his own hand, I also look upon as spurious; nor did Vasari know of any other portrait than the one that was executed in bronze by Ricciarelli, and the two that were painted, one by Bugiardini, the other by Jacopo del Conte. From these, probably, were taken those old and well-known portraits preserved in the Florentine and Capitoline galleries, the Caprara palace, at Bologna, and that of the Cardinal Zelada, at Rome.

DANIEL OF VOLTERRA.

RICCIARELLI, commonly known in history by the name of Daniel of Volterra, enjoys a higher reputation, and is generally considered as a more successful imitator of M. Angelo, than any other of his followers.* Educated at Siena, as the story goes, by Peruzzi and Razzi, and becoming subsequently the assistant of Perino del Vaga, he acquired an astonishing talent for imitating Bonarruoti; insomuch, that the latter, gratified at the circumstance, got him appointed as his substitute in the works at the Vatican, patronized him, and enriched him with designs. It is well known that while Volterra was engaged on the paintings of the Farnesina, M. Angelo did not desert him; and it is said,—*O vero o falso che la fama suoni*—“with what truth we know not,” that, during his absence, M. Angelo mounted the scaffolding, and with a piece of charcoal sketched the colossal head that is still seen there. Volterra let it remain, that posterity might be enabled properly to appreciate Bonarruoti's extraordinary powers, who had produced a work of such gigantic proportions, and yet so perfect, on the spur of the moment, and, as it were, in mere sport. Nor could Volterra,

* Another of his more distinguished Florentine imitators was Francesco Granacci.

but for M. Angelo's assistance, have executed that admirable Descent from the Cross, in the church of the Trinità de' Monti, which, together with Raphael's Transfiguration, and Domenichino's St. Jerome, is reckoned among the finest paintings in Rome. We might almost fancy ourselves spectators of the mournful scene—the Redeemer, while being removed from the Cross, gradually sinking down with all that relaxation of limb and utter helplessness natural to a dead body—the pious assistants, engaged in various duties, and thrown into different and contrasted attitudes, intently occupied with the sacred remains which they regard with evident marks of veneration—the mother of Jesus in a swoon amidst her sorrowing companions—and the beloved Disciple standing with outstretched hands, lost in contemplation of the mysterious spectacle. There is a truth in the representation of those parts of the human body exposed to view, that seems nature itself; a style of colouring in the heads and in the whole piece that accords exactly with the subject, displaying strength rather than delicacy; a relief, a harmony, in a word, a degree of skill such as M. Angelo himself might almost have been proud of, had the picture been inscribed with his name. And to this, I suspect, the author alluded, when he painted his friend Bonarruoti with a looking-glass near to intimate that he might,

in that picture, behold a reflection of himself. Volterra executed some other pieces on the subject of the Crucifixion, in this same Orsini chapel; they are, however, inferior to the altar-piece above-mentioned. He caused two of his scholars—whom the *Guide to Rome* styles Michele Alberti and Giovanni Paolo Rosetti—to paint some other pieces in another chapel of the same church, furnishing them in the mean time with designs; one of which he himself executed for an altar-piece, with figures of a moderate size. This is that picture of the Massacre of the Innocents, which is now honoured with a place in the Tribune of the Royal Florentine Gallery; an honour that says more for it than could any panegyric of mine.

FRA BARTOLOMMEO.

BACCIO DELLA PORTA, a young Florentine, was so named because his studio happened to be near one of the city gates; but entering the Dominican Order, he was styled, from the convent where he resided, Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco, or, more briefly, il Frate. While he was pursuing his studies under Rosselli, he became enamoured of Da

Vinci's fine chiaroscuro, and laboured hard to rival it. And as we read of his friend Albertinelli, that he diligently cultivated the art of modelling, and carefully copied the ancient relievos, the better to represent the effects of light and shade, we may fairly presume that Baccio pursued the same plan, although Vasari is silent on the subject. The Grand Duke has in his possession a Nativity and Circumcision, both of them exquisite little pieces, and as highly finished as illuminations—which may be referred to this early period. Having embraced the monastic life in the year 1500, at the age of thirty-one, Baccio continued for four years without ever touching the pencil. The fate of Savonarola, whom he knew and respected, had preyed upon his mind; and, as was also the case with Botticelli and Credi, had given him a distaste for the art. On returning to it again, he seems, during the remaining thirteen or fourteen years of his life, to have gone on improving daily; so much do his earlier productions, beautiful as they are, yield in merit to his last. His improvement was promoted by Raphael, who, in the year 1504, going to Florence to prosecute his studies, contracted an intimacy with him, and became at once his scholar in colouring and his master in perspective. Having repaired to Rome some few years afterwards, for the purpose of examining the works of Bonar-

ruoti and Raphael, he acquired, if I mistake not, a greater elevation of style, though it was still at all times more allied to that of his friend than to that of his fellow-citizen,—in his heads, as well as in the whole of his design, combining dignity with grace. Of this we have a proof in that picture at the Pitti palace, which Pietro da Cortona mistook for a work of Raphael's, though Baccio had painted it before he visited Rome. In that city, says the biographer, confronted with the two great luminaries of art, he seemed to himself to shrink into insignificance, and forthwith returned to Florence;—the very same thing that occurred in the case of Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, and other truly great and admirable painters; whose diffidence was afterwards amply atoned for by the assurance of numberless artists who had nothing more than mediocrity to boast of, and who, by the help of that assurance and much ill-placed patronage, contrived, notwithstanding their very moderate talents, to live a long time at Rome. Fra Bartolommeo left behind him at Rome two figures of the two great Apostles, which are still preserved in the Quirinal palace: the St. Peter, which was left in an unfinished state, received its last touches from the hand of Raphael. There is also a picture of his in the Vatican, where, together with many other choice paintings, it was placed by that great pontiff Pius VI. In the Corsini collection

there is also a Holy Family by the same artist—perhaps the most beautiful, and most charming work he ever produced.

His most esteemed performances, however, are to be seen in Tuscany, where there are several altar-pieces of his, and all of them of very great value. The composition of these pictures exhibits the style most in vogue at the time—a style which, without excepting Raphael himself, is observable in every school, and which continued in the Florentine till the days of Pontormo—a Madonna seated with the Infant Saviour, and surrounded by various Saints. But even in a subject thus hackneyed, Fra Bartolommeo contrives to distinguish himself by stately edifices, magnificent flights of steps, and the art with which he disposes the different groups of Saints and Angels. Sometimes he represents them seated and making melody, sometimes poised on their wings, and doing homage to their King and Queen; some of them supporting the drapery, others sustaining the canopy,—a rich and tasteful ornament, which he was apt to combine with such thrones even in cabinet pictures. From this style of composition he deviated in a picture which he left at S. Romano di Lucca, called the Madonna della Misericordia, who is seen seated in the most winning attitude, amidst a crowd of devotees, and sheltering them under her robe from the wrath of heaven.

For two other altar-pieces we have to thank his rivals, whose charges he rebutted, like other great men, by his classic performances—a mode of proceeding more galling to the envious than the most bitter retort. They had taunted him with being incompetent to the performance of works in large proportions; and then it was that he produced that great picture containing only the single figure of St. Mark, now in the Grand Duke's collection, and esteemed a miracle of art;—of which an accomplished foreigner once said, that it looked like one of the colossal statues of ancient Greece transformed into a picture. They had also reproached him with being ignorant of the anatomy of the human frame; and to give the lie to that assertion, he introduced, in another picture, a St. Sebastian completely naked, as painters are wont to represent him—a work so perfect in design and colouring, that “it excited the unqualified admiration of contemporary artists.” It was, however, found to possess too many attractions for the female votaries of the Saint; and the religious fraternity in whose church it was placed, removed it to a more private situation, and afterwards sold it and sent it to France.

In short, Fra Bartolommeo could, whenever he pleased, acquit himself with credit in every department of painting. His design is perfectly chaste, and in his youthful heads, fuller and more plump than

that of Raphael; exhibiting, according to Algharotti, little elevation in the figures of the vulgar, and bordering on the clumsy. At one period he was apt to overcharge his colours with shadow, produced, according to Vasari's account, by lamp or ivory-black; a practice from which some of his pictures have sustained great injury: in process of time, however, he got the better of this habit, and, as we have stated, became expert enough to serve as a model even to Raphael. In strength and lucidness of colouring he is scarcely inferior to the best masters of the Lombard school. Baccio claims also the merit of invention in the disposition of the drapery; others having learnt from his example to use a wooden model, which takes to pieces, and serves admirably to facilitate the study of the folds of dress. Nor did any of his school display more variety, nature, and stateliness in the drapery of their figures, or better adapt it to the body. The works of this artist are to be met with here and there in the collections of distinguished individuals at Florence; but they are very seldom to be found beyond the limits of that city: there they are in great request with foreigners, though they are scarcely ever for sale. The Monks of St. Mark's have a considerable number of his paintings in a private chapel of theirs; and among them a S. Vincenzio, which, in point of colouring, might, according to Bottari,

pass for a work of Titian's or Giorgione's. But his best and choicest performances are in the possession of the Grand Duke, in whose collection is the last of all Fra Bartolommeo's works—a large painting in *chiaroscuro*, representing the patron Saints of the city placed around the Virgin. It was ordered for the saloon of the Council of State by the Gonfalonier Soderini; but owing to the death of its author, which took place in 1517, it was left a mere sketch, like the cartoons of Da Vinci and Bonarruoti: as if this saloon were fated to be always on the point of receiving decoration from the hands of the best native artists, and were yet always doomed to go without it. In this number may we most assuredly include Fra Bartolommeo; and Richardson remarks, (vol. iii. 126,) that had he chanced to light on the same happy combination of circumstances that attended Raphael's career, he would not, perhaps, have been inferior to him. This last work of his, though but a sketch, is looked upon as a model in the art. It was Baccio's plan first to draw the parts of the figures to be exposed to view, then to dispose the drapery, and to form (sometimes even in oils) a *chiaroscuro*, in order to mark the distribution of light and shade; which constituted his principal study, and the very life and soul of his paintings. The great sketch of which we have been speaking, betrays such preparatory steps; and is, with re-

gard to the intended picture, what the plaster casts of the ancients are with regard to the statues of which they were the models,—casts, in which Winckelmann thinks he can discern the stamp of genius and the talent of design, better than in the sculptured marbles themselves.

ANDREA DEL SARTO.

ANDREA VANNUCCHI, from his father's calling styled Andrea del Sarto, is eulogized by Vasari as one of the greatest luminaries of this school; "for the correctness of his works, in which he surpassed every other Florentine, for the accurate knowledge he possessed of the principles of chiar-oscuro, and the art with which he represented objects fading into shadow; as well as for the extreme sweetness of his style—to say nothing of his having shown the way to give a more perfect union to the different parts of frescos, and that without much retouching them when dry; a circumstance which makes every one of his works look as if it had been finished in a single day." Baldinucci charges him with want of invention; and, to say the truth, he does not display that elevation of fancy, which constitutes the epic in painting no less than in poetry. This was a fa-

culty Andrea did not possess: endowed, as it is said, with a natural modesty, sweetness, and sensibility of temper, he seems to have stamped the same character on all his works. The portico of the Nunziata, converted by him into a gallery above all price, is the fittest place to judge of this. Those chaste contours that gained him the name of "Andrea the faultless"—*Andrea senza errori*—those lovely heads, in which he has embodied his ideas of the beautiful, and whose smiles not unfrequently remind us of Coreggio's simplicity and grace; those well-constructed edifices; those appropriate dresses, adapted to every condition; that unconstrained disposition of the drapery; those popular expressions of curiosity, wonder, reliance, compassion and joy, which reach, without ever transgressing, the bounds of decorum; which explain themselves at the first glance, and which move, without agitating, the passions—all these are merits more easily felt than described. He who feels what Tibullus is in poetry, will readily comprehend what Andrea is in painting.

In this artist we have a striking instance of the worthlessness of precept compared with genius. During his boyhood, he was placed under the direction of Giovanni Barile, an expert carver in wood, engaged to decorate the *palchi* and doors of the Vatican, after designs by Raphael; but of no note at all as a painter. Afterwards, while yet a

young man, he was entrusted to the care of Pier di Cosimo, a good colourist, but by no means skilled in composition or design: hence, in these matters, Andrea formed his taste on the cartoons of Bonarruoti and Da Vinci; and, as many circumstances indicate, on the frescos of Masaccio and Ghirlandaio, where he met with subjects more in unison with the gentleness of his disposition. He went to Rome, though I know not in what year; thither, however, he went; nor does this fact appear to me to admit of dispute, as in the case of Coreggio. I do not infer this from his style, which, even by the admission of Lomazzo and other writers, though less ideal, has much of Raphael's manner in it. Raphael and Andrea had studied the same models at Florence; and even without that, might have inherited from nature a fellow-feeling for the selection of the beautiful. I ground my opinion solely on Vasari. He expressly tells us, that Andrea visited Rome, and that, on examining the works of Raphael's scholars, his timidity made him despair of equalling them; whence he forthwith returned to Florence. If we admit so many other proofs of Andrea's pusillanimity, why should we reject this? Or when can we possibly place any dependence upon Vasari, if we suppose him to have been mistaken as to a fact concerning one who had been his master; recorded by him at Florence itself, within a

short time of Andrea's death, while his scholars, his friends, and even his wife, were still living—a fact, moreover, affirmed even in the second edition, in which Vasari retracted so much of what he had asserted in the first?

Thus Andrea's improvement and transition from one degree of perfection to another, cannot be said to have been very rapid, as in the case of certain others; but to have been gradually brought about during a residence of several years at Florence. There, "reflecting at his leisure on all that he had seen, he made such progress that his works have been held in the highest esteem, and, what is more, have been imitated since his death even more than during his life-time:" so says his biographer. This, then, implies that he owed his improvement in some measure to his visit to Rome; but still more did he owe it to the force of his own genius, which led him, as it were, by the hand from one step to another; as may be witnessed at the *Compagnia dello Scalzo*, and at the convent of the *Servi*, where works of his, executed at different periods, still remain. At the *Scalzo* he painted some *chiaroscuros* from the life of *St. John*, the cartoons of which are to be seen at the *Rinuccini* palace: in this work critics have detected some palpable imitations of *Albert Durer*, and even found that one or two figures are wholly copied from him. In his *Baptism of Christ* we have a

specimen of his earlier style; his subsequent progress may be traced in certain other pieces, as in the Visitation painted a few years afterwards; and lastly, his best and grandest style, in certain others, as in the Birth of John the Baptist. In like manner, the historical pieces from the life of S. Filippo Benizi, in the lesser cloister at the convent of the Servi, are most charming performances, though they rank among the earlier efforts of Andrea's genius. The Epiphany, and the Nativity, to be seen at the same place, are paintings of a higher order: but his noblest work of all is that Holy Family in Repose, over one of the doors of the larger cloister, which, from the sack of corn against which St. Joseph reclines, is usually styled the *Madonna del Sacco*—a picture than which few are more celebrated in the history of art. On closely inspecting this picture, we should find that it might almost be looked at for ever: it is finished as highly as if it had been executed for some little cabinet; every hair is distinguishable, every middle tint lowered with consummate skill, every contour marked with singular variety and grace. Yet, at the same time, amidst all this finish, we discern an air of evident facility, that makes the whole appear natural, and as though it had cost its author little effort.

The Grand Duke has, in his villa at Poggio a Caiano, a fresco of his representing Cæsar, to

whom, while reclining on an elevated seat led up to by a flight of steps, in a place decorated with statues, a great variety of wild beasts and foreign birds is presented, as an honorary tribute to his victories,—a work of itself sufficient to establish Andrea's reputation as a painter, in perspective, a tasteful imitation of the remains of antiquity, and every other accomplishment of the profession. The order for the embellishment of this villa was given by Leo X.; and Andrea, who, on this occasion, had Franciabigio and Pontormo for his competitors, did his utmost to please that patron of the fine arts, and avoid being outdone by his rivals. The latter, however, being, as I suspect, disheartened, discontinued the work; nor was it till some years afterwards that Alessandro Allori completely finished it. The ducal family is rich in the oil paintings of Andrea. Besides the St. Francis, the Assumption, the pieces from the history of Joseph, and other pictures collected by the house of Medici, the Grand Duke Peter Leopold purchased a very beautiful Pietà of the Nuns of Lugo, and placed it in the Tribune as a work calculated to do honour to the school. The St. Peter and the St. Paul, introduced into this piece contrary to fact, are not faults to be imputed to the painter, who has portrayed them so well, but to the person who ordered the picture. In the dead Christ critics have detected some little de-

fects; that figure appearing to them to sustain itself better, and to exhibit more fulness in the veins than is natural in a dead body. But what are such defects in a picture, the design, colouring, and grouping of which, excite universal admiration! A *Last Supper* of his, at the monastery of S. Salvi, would, perhaps, were it not shut up in a monastery, be no less admired. At any rate, the troops, who, in the year 1529, laid siege to Florence, and destroyed the suburbs of the city, thought it worthy of admiration; for after having demolished the belfry, the church, and a portion of the aforesaid monastery itself, they were struck with amazement at the sight of this Last Supper, and had not the heart to deface it; imitating, as it were, that Demetrius, who, at the sack of Rhodes, is said to have respected nothing but a picture by Protogenes. (Plin. N. H. xxxv. 10.)

Andrea executed a great many paintings, and hence his works are well known even beyond the limits of his native place. The best painting of his in the possession of strangers is, perhaps, the altar-piece which was transferred to one of the Genoese palaces from the church of the Dominicans of Sarzana, who still retain a very beautiful copy of it. Its composition is in the style of Fra Bartolommeo; and besides the Saints ranged around the Virgin and on the steps—of whom

four are represented standing and two kneeling—there are also in the foreground of the picture two very large figures, which seem, as it were, to start up from a lower plane, and which are visible only down to the knee. Critics, I am aware, do not approve of this plan; yet, where there are so many figures, it helps to introduce variety, and tends to give an appearance of greater distance between the nearer and the more remote; whence the stage seems to expand, and every actor produces effect. In the larger collections, Andrea's Holy Families are by no means rare. The Rinuccini family, at Florence, possesses two; and some of the Roman princes have even a greater number, all of them different, save that the features of the Virgin, which Andrea was wont to copy from those of his wife, are almost always the same. Many, also, have I met with in the various dependencies of Florence and Rome, and not a few in Lombardy, besides those mentioned in the catalogues of foreigners.

A man endowed with genius like this, ought, one would think, to have enjoyed the smiles of fortune; and yet, were one to write a book on the miseries of painters, as has already been done on those of authors, no one would excite more compassion than Andrea. The stories of Coreggio's poverty are exaggerated, if not altogether unfounded; Domenichino, great as was his distress

for a time, lived to see better days ; the Carracci were ill paid, it is true, but still they were above want. . Andrea, from the period of his marriage with one Lucrezia del Fede to the day of his death, was almost always a prey to sorrow. Vasari tells us, in the first edition of his work, that, in consequence of marrying this woman, he was despised by his friends, and deserted by his employers ; that, become the mere slave of her will, he withdrew his support from his parents ; that, owing to her violent and overbearing temper, none of Andrea's scholars could continue with him long ; and thus, in all probability, it must have been in the case of Vasari himself. In the second edition, whether it was that he had been appeased, or that he repented of what he had said, he omitted these reproaches ; but still did not omit to mention that she had been to her husband a constant source of woe. He there stated afresh, that Andrea had been invited by Francis I. to his court, where, caressed as he was and amply paid, he might have excited the envy of every artist ; but, unhappily, yielding to Lucrezia's tears and entreaties, he returned to Florence, and there took up his abode, in violation of the oath he had taken to remain with the king. Repenting, however, soon afterwards, he became anxious to regain his former situation, but failed in the attempt. Thus, amidst jealousy and domestic wretchedness,

he continued to drag on a miserable existence ; till attacked by a contagious disorder, and deserted not only by others, but even by his wife, he died in 1530, at the early age of forty-two.

Franciabigio. The two who made the nearest approaches to Andrea's style, were, Marco Antonio Francia Bigi, (styled also Franciabigio, or Francia,) and Pontormo. The former of these was, for a few months, the scholar of Albertinelli, and afterwards, as it seems, proceeded to form his manner on the most approved models of the school ; nor are there many on whom Vasari has lavished such encomiums, whether for the skill he displayed in anatomy and perspective, the daily habit he was in of drawing the naked figure, or the unwearied pains he bestowed on all his works. Andrea, who became not only his friend but the companion of his studies, led him to adopt a more elevated style. From an associate, Francia became an ardent follower of del Sarto ; but not being blessed with the same degree of talent, he could never succeed in imparting to his figures the apparent sweetness of disposition, the truth of expression, and innate grace, so conspicuous in the works of the latter. Near the works of Andrea, in the cloister of the Nunziata, there is a semi-circular piece of his, representing the Espousals of the Virgin ; and in that piece we recognize a painter who sought to effect by diligence what

the other accomplished by genius. This work was left in an imperfect state; for some of the monks having exposed it to view before it was completed, the painter was so chagrined at it, that he endeavoured to deface the work with a hammer, and, though frustrated in the attempt, he could never be prevailed upon to finish it; nor would any one else ever venture upon the task. At the Scalzo also he was Andrea's competitor, where he produced two pieces which do not suffer much by comparison with those of his rival. In like manner, at Poggio a Caiano, he undertook, in competition with his friend, to depict Cicero's return from Exile; and this work, though left unfinished, had no little merit. It is the glory of this artist to have been so frequently employed in competition with Andrea, and thus, as we have already observed, to have stimulated him to increased exertion, from the dread of being outdone.

Pontormo. Jacopo Carrucci, from the name of his native place denominated Pontormo, was a man of rare abilities, whose very first performances excited the admiration of Raphael and M. Angelo. He received some few lessons from Da Vinci; was afterwards indebted for some further improvement to Albertinelli and Pier di Cosimo; and finally placed himself under the tuition of Andrea. His master, however, becoming jealous

of his abilities, compelled him by unhandsome treatment to withdraw from his school, but afterwards found in him not only an imitator, but, in many of his undertakings, a rival. In the Visitation, at the convent of the Servi—in the altarpiece containing various saints, at S. Michelino—as well as in the two pieces from the History of Joseph, with small figures after the manner of Poussin, in one of the cabinets of the ducal gallery,—we see that it cost him but little effort to tread in the steps of his master, and that it was congeniality of mind alone which led him into a similar path. I say a similar path—for he is no servile copyist of heads and whole figures, like the followers of certain other masters, but invariably retains some distinguishing marks of originality. I once saw, in the possession of the accomplished Marquis Cerbone Pucci, a Holy Family of his, along with others, by Baccio, Rosso, and Andrea: Pontormo's style seemed to vie with each of these, and yet was distinct from them all.

Pontormo was of a somewhat eccentric turn, and readily abandoned one style in the hope of hitting upon a better, though often with very indifferent success. At the Carthusian monastery there are works of his, from which connoisseurs have deduced the three different styles ascribed to him. The first is chaste in design, and vigorous in colouring, and may be said to make the nearest

approach to the manner of Andrea. The second is also correct in the design, but somewhat languid in the colouring; and this served as a model to Bronzino and others of the succeeding epoch. The third is a palpable imitation of Albert Durer, not only as regards the invention, but even as regards the heads and the folds of the drapery,—a style altogether unworthy of so promising a beginning. In this style it is not easy to find specimens of Pontormo's works, with the exception of certain pieces on the subject of the Passion, which he servilely copied from the prints of Albert Durer in one of the cloisters of the aforesaid monastery, where he spent several years, unlearning what he had learnt. We might have been able to point out a fourth manner, were the Deluge and Last Judgment, which he painted at S. Lorenzo, and on which he spent eleven years, still in existence. But this his last work has long since been white-washed over, to the satisfaction of every other artist. His object in it was to emulate M. Angelo, and, like that great man, to set up for a model in the anatomical style, which at Florence began about that time to be lauded above every other. But, in fact, he left posterity a very different lesson; and only showed that an old man ought not to run after every new-fangled system.

Andrea adopted the plan pursued by Raphael and other artists of that period, in availing himself

of the assistance of painters experienced in his style, whether friends or scholars; a remark not without its use to those who may discern in his pictures the labours of another hand. . . . To the above-mentioned* artists, rather than to any others, may we attribute the many beautiful copies which, both at Florence and elsewhere, are so often made to pass for originals. It seems scarcely credible that Andrea would have repeated his own designs so frequently and so exactly, or that he would have reduced them with his own hand from a larger to a smaller scale. One of his Holy Families, containing the figure of St. Elizabeth, I have met with in as many as ten collections, or even more; and some others in not less than three or four different dwellings. The picture of S. Lorenzo, with other saints, (at the Pitti palace,) I also found in the Albani gallery; the Visitation, I met with in the Giustiniani palace; the Nativity of the Virgin, (at the convent of the Servi,) I also saw in the possession of Signor Pirri, at Rome: all these are most beautiful little pieces, all of them on small panels, all of ancient date, and all believed to be the work of Andrea. To me it seems not improbable that the

* The artists here alluded to are, Jacone, Domenico Puligo, Domenico Conti, Pierfrancesco di Jacopo di Sandro, Nannoccio, Andrea Sguazzella, and even Pontormo himself.

best of the number were at least executed in his studio, and retouched by him, according to the plan pursued by Titian, and even by Raphael himself.

ROSSO.

Rosso, who wrought in competition with the best masters in the cloister of the Nunziata, and who, in the Assumption which he painted there, seems to have aimed less at producing a work superior in beauty than in size to those of all the others, ranks among the greatest painters of the Florentine school, although he had scarcely a single follower. Blessed with a creative fancy, he scorned to imitate any one, either among his own countrymen or foreigners; and, to say the truth, in him we recognize much originality of style—heads of a more spirited cast, head-dresses and other ornaments of a more tasteful kind, greater liveliness of colouring, a more imposing style of chiaroscuro, as well as greater boldness and freedom of pencilling, than had hitherto been witnessed at Florence. He seems, in short, to have introduced into that school a certain spirit that would have been altogether unexceptionable, had

it not occasionally been combined with something of the extravagant. Such is the case with that Transfiguration of his at Città di Castello; where, at the bottom of the picture, instead of the Apostles, he has introduced, ridiculously enough to be sure, a troop of gipsies. There is, however, in the Pitti palace, a work of his wholly exempt from any such blemishes as this. This picture contains various Saints grouped in so admirable a manner, that the chiaroscuro of one figure contributes to the relief of another; it displays, too, such charming contrast of light and shade, such energy of design and attitude, that it never fails to rivet the attention of the spectator by its novelty alone. Rosso likewise executed some pieces for various parts of the Florentine territory: in the oratory of S. Carlo at Volterra, may be seen an unfinished Descent from the Cross of his execution; and another in the church of S. Chiara at Città San Sepolcro, of which there is an old copy in the cathedral. Its chief merit arises from the principal group, and from that dusky and almost nocturnal hue, which gives to the whole piece an air of sombreness and truth not unworthy of the Flemish school. In Italy this painter's works are extremely scarce; inasmuch as he spent the best part of his time in France, in the service of Francis I., where he superintended the ornamental painting and stucco-work then carrying on

at Fontainebleau. While engaged in this undertaking, he put an end to his existence by poison; and when the palace was about to be enlarged, many of his works were defaced by Primaticcio, his rival, and not his follower, as Cellini represents him. Thirteen of Rosso's paintings, dedicated to the life and glory of Francis I., and described by the Abbé Guget, in his "Memoir on the Royal Academy of France," escaped. Of these the one most worthy of remark is the Expulsion of Ignorance by that monarch—a picture of which there are at least three different engravings.

Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. Ridolfo, the son of Domenico Ghirlandaio, who lost his father at a very early age, was so thoroughly initiated in the mysteries of art, first by his paternal uncle Davide, and subsequently by Fra Bartolommeo, that Raphael himself, on his visit to Florence, became at once his admirer and his friend. When Raphael quitted that city, he left with Ghirlandaio a Madonna, intended for Siena, in order that it might be finished by him; and on going shortly afterwards to Rome, he invited him to become his coadjutor in the decorations of the Vatican. Unfortunately for his reputation, which might thus perhaps have equalled that of Guilio Romano, Ridolfo declined the invitation.

Nothing can be more in the manner of Raphael

than some of the figures in Ridolfo's pictures; and the whole of them evince a skilfulness of composition, a vivacity of expression, a propriety of colouring, a degree of art in copying nature, and yet embellishing it by ideal charms, that would seem to argue maxims very nearly allied to those of that great master. That he did not afterwards make corresponding progress, is to be ascribed to his not having seen his friend's best performances, as well as to his having, on arriving at maturity, in great measure desisted from the study of painting, in order to devote himself to mercantile pursuits. Hence, when he had once modernized his style, and by this means acquired some degree of reputation, he aimed at nothing further; and it was rather from the love he bore the art, than for the sake of a profession, that he afterwards continued to keep open a studio for painting. There he admitted artists of every description. Hence it is that many who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century, are noticed by biographers as being either the scholars, or the companions, of this painter.

This auspicious epoch was not without producing a few good landscape painters; although as yet it was not much the fashion to paint mere landscapes, detached from historical pieces.

Arabesques were brought into vogue by Morto da Feltro and Giovanni da Udine. Both these had visited Florence, and had executed some works

there; especially the latter, who was employed by the Medicean family to decorate their palace and the chapel of S. Lorenzo. By *Morto* this art was communicated to *Andrea*, sometimes called *Andrea di Cosimo*, from having been *Rosselli's* scholar, but more frequently *Feltrini*, or perhaps *Feltrino*, from his more known master.

During the fifteenth century, perspective was not cultivated in Italy, except in so far as it was subservient to historical painting; and in that branch of it the later masters of the Venetian and Lombard schools distinguished themselves no less than those of Florence and Rome. After this period, artists began to make it a separate branch; representing arches, colonnades, porticos, and every other kind of ornamental architecture in pictures appropriated to such subjects, to the great embellishment of theatrical representations, as well as of religious and other festivities. One of the first who devoted himself to this pursuit was *Bastiano di Sangallo*, nephew of *Giuliano* and *Antonio Sangallo*, and brother of another *Antonio Sangallo*, all three of them celebrated architects. *Bastiano*, from certain lectures on anatomy and perspective, which he delivered with the acuteness and authoritative air of a philosopher, was nicknamed *Aristotile*. Possessing no great talent for invention, he devoted himself entirely to perspective, which he had learnt of *Bramante* at Rome;

and which he cultivated during that period when magnificent funeral ceremonies and congratulatory festivities were of frequent occurrence at Florence. The most memorable were those which were celebrated in 1513, on the election of Leo X., and those which, on his visit to Florence in 1515, were got up to welcome his arrival. Thither he had brought with him M. Angelo, Raphael, and other artists, for the purpose of deliberating on the façade of S. Lorenzo, and various other works which he meditated; and these his attendants added to the magnificence of the spectacle. Meanwhile, Florence became, as it were, a new city. What noble arches were then thrown across the streets by Granacci and Rosso! What splendid temples and novel façades were designed there by Antonio da Sangallo and Jacopo Sansovino! What beautiful chiaroscuro's were prepared by Andrea del Sarto!—what arabesques by Feltrino! what relievos and statues and colossal figures by the same Sansovino, by Rustici, and Bandinelli! With what exquisite taste did Ghirlandaio, Pontormo, Franciabigio, and Ubertini, adorn the residence of the Pontiff! To say nothing of a crowd of inferior artists, who, indeed, in any other age, so far from being considered inferior, would have risen into eminence.

Such spectacles became afterwards more familiar to the Florentines; for the Medici, like the

Roman Emperors, at the outset of their sway over a people whom they feared, affected popularity by promoting public festivities. Hence, not only on extraordinary occasions, such as the elevation of Clement VII. to the Papacy,—that of Alexander and Cosmo to the sovereignty of their country,—the marriage of the latter, and of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici,—and the arrival of Charles V. ; not only on such occasions as these, but not unfrequently at other times, they set on foot tournaments, masquerades, plays, and pageants, of which the decorations—such as the painted cars, dresses, and scenery—were of the most costly description. This passionate pursuit of objects, all of which required to be set off by exquisite embellishment, gave a stimulus to industry, and called into being a crowd of painters, and other ornamental artists. Aristotile, to return to him, was always in most request ; his perspectives were sought after in the public streets ; his scenes, in the theatre. The populace, not yet familiarized with such ocular deceptions, were struck with wonder : it seemed to them as if they could actually mount the steps, enter the edifices, and make their way to the balconies and windows, represented in his pictures.

Before I pass on to the next epoch, it is fit I should say something of the invention of painting on glass, which is also styled mosaic ; inasmuch

as pictures of this sort consist of pieces of glass differently coloured, and connected together by pieces of lead, which produce the shadows. There are some windows to be met with which are scarcely inferior to well-executed paintings on canvass and panel. From the preface to the treatise "*De omni scientiâ artis pingendi*," by Theofilus the Monk, I find that, in his days, France took the lead of every other nation in this branch of art. By the French, too, it seems to have been constantly cultivated, to have been brought by degrees to perfection, and to have been spread into other countries. The Italians, from the earliest period of the revival of painting, formed windows of pieces of painted glass, on which historical subjects were represented in different colours; as P. Angeli observes in his description of the basilica of Assisi, which still retains some very ancient specimens. So also in the Franciscan church at Venice, we find that one *Frater Theotonius*, a German, executed both tapestries and painted glass windows, and that he was afterwards imitated by one Marco, a painter, who flourished in 1335. It is also worthy of remark, that windows of this kind, situated, as they were, aloft behind the altar, before altar-pieces and fresco-paintings were known, served instead of such sacred pictures; for the people, lifting up their eyes towards them, there sought the likenesses of those "whom

still they hope one day to see in heaven"—che ancor lassù in Ciel vedere spera—and turned to them while offering up their prayers.

During the fifteenth century, Lorenzo Ghiberti, a man who deserved well of many of the arts, succeeded also in improving this; and to him we are indebted for the painted round windows in the façades of the church of St. Francis and the Florentine cathedral: in like manner, all the round windows in the cupola of the cathedral are the work of his hand, excepting only that of the Assumption, which is the work of Donatello. This art afterwards flourished at Arezzo, whither it was carried by Parri Spinelli, a scholar of Ghiberti's. About the same time, the Padre D. Francesco flourished at Perugia, who not only painted on glass, but also opened a school in that city. The same art revived again at Venice about the year 1473, where, at the church of St. John and St. Paul, a window was executed after designs by Bartolommeo Vivarini, as well as another at Murano: nor, indeed, could the art of painting on glass be expected to go into disuse in a city where it may be said to have been cradled.

True it is, that in process of time, the Venetian and Florentine glass appeared too opaque for the purpose; and hence that of France and England was preferred to it, whose clearness and transparency were better fitted to receive the different

colours, without too much intercepting the rays of light. It seemed good also to substitute, instead of colours shielded by gums and other vehicles, such as were burnt in, after the manner described by Vasari: whence such pictures not only acquired greater brilliancy, but became more capable of withstanding the inclemency of the weather. This invention must be ascribed to the Flemings, or rather to the French; and from the French we most assuredly received it.

FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

EPOCH III.

MICHAEL ANGELO'S IMITATORS.

AFTER the five great masters above recorded, the Florentines were so rich in the finer specimens of art, that they had no great occasion to have recourse to foreign schools for improvement, but only to select what was best in the works of their own artists. M. Angelo, for instance, would afford them an example of the grand, Andrea of the graceful, and Rosso of the spirited style; nor could they better learn the art of colouring, and the proper disposition of the drapery, than from

Baccio della Porta, nor that of *chiaroscuro* than from Da Vinci. They seem, however, to have turned all their thoughts to the study of design, while they paid little attention to the other departments of the art. Nay, even in this branch of it, they thought that every thing was to be found in Bonarruoti; and ran, as it were, after him alone. In this their choice, they were biassed by the great reputation, the brilliant success, and very long life of that artist, who, having survived all the more eminent of his fellow-citizens, recommended to employment—as indeed was very natural—those who adopted his maxims and ranged themselves under his banner: whence the saying, that, as regarded the progress of the fine arts, Raphael's life had been too short, M. Angelo's too long.

The sole study and constant object of his followers was to design his statues; for the cartoon, on which so many distinguished masters had formed their style, was already lost, and his paintings were to be met with at Rome, not at Florence. Hence they transferred to their own compositions that statue-like rigidity, that exaggerated strength of limb, that affected display of anatomical knowledge in the insertion and development of the muscles, that austerity of look, and that vivacity of attitude, which form the distinguishing character of his awful style. But not thoroughly comprehending the principles embraced by that

inimitable man, nor thoroughly understanding the play of the softer parts—the cellular substance—of the human frame, they were easily betrayed into error: either inserting the muscles in improper situations, or giving an equal degree of prominence to those of a person in action, and those of one at rest; those of a slender stripling, and those of a full-grown man. Content with what thus passed with them for grandeur of style, they cared but little for any thing else. In some of their pictures you will meet with a crowd of figures placed one above another, in what plane it would be hard to say,—heads that have no meaning, and half-naked figures that do nothing but pompously display, like the Entellus of Virgil, “*magna ossa lacertosque*.” The beautiful azures and greens formerly employed, you will see replaced by a languid yellowish hue; the full body of colour, by superficial tints; and, above all, you will find the bold relief, so much studied till the time of Andrea, now wholly gone into disuse.

Baldinucci has, in several passages, acknowledged this decline; which, however, scarcely extended beyond two or three generations, and seems to have commenced about the year 1540. Not that the Florentine, even during this less auspicious period, sunk into such a state of negligence as certain other schools. The churches abound with pictures executed at this period, which, if

they fail to excite our admiration like those of the preceding era, are at least respectable. Whoever visits the church of S. Croce, that of S. Maria Novella, and other places where the artists of that epoch were employed, will most assuredly find more there to commend than to condemn. Few of the artists of this period evince much merit in colouring, but many in design; few are altogether exempt from the mannerism above described: in process of time, however, many improved upon it, and attained a more graceful style.

VASARI.

GIORGIO VASARI, of Arezzo, has been charged with being one of the principal causes of this decline in art. M. Angelo, Andrea, and others, instructed him in the art of design; Priore and Rosso initiated him in that of painting; but the chief seat of his studies was Rome, whither he was taken by Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, to whom he owed all his success; for it was through him that Vasari was afterwards patronized by the Medici family, who loaded him with riches and honour. At Rome, after having designed all that he met with there of the works of M. Angelo and

Raphael, as well as many of those of other schools and the remains of ancient sculpture, he formed a style in which we may trace vestiges of such studies, though in it he betrays an evident predilection for Bonarruoti. Having become expert as an historical painter, he next turned his attention to architecture, and became, indeed, one of the most eminent architects of his day; combining in his own person those various accomplishments, which, (after the example of Raphael,) Perino, Giulio Romano, and their scholars, had made it their business to acquire. For, like them, Vasari was not only capable of presiding over the building of a noble edifice, but also of superintending the internal decorations,—the historical pieces, the arabesques, the landscapes, the stuccos, the gilding, and whatever else was necessary to set it off in a princely manner. By this means he began to grow into repute in Italy, and was engaged in his capacity of painter at various places, and even at Rome itself; where the more considerable of his works at that place, are to be found in various parts of the Vatican, and in the Sala of the Chancery. These latter are the fresco-paintings from the life of Paul III. which were ordered by Cardinal Farnese; from which also he conceived the idea of getting him to write his *Lives of the Painters*, published afterwards at Florence. Brought into repute by these works, backed by

the esteem and friendship of Bonarruoti, and recommended by the variety of his accomplishments, he was invited by Cosmo I. to his court. Thither he repaired with his family in 1553, by which time the artists hitherto noticed being either dead or advanced in years, he had but little to fear from competition. He superintended the noble works ordered by that prince; among which it would be unpardonable not to notice the erection of the *Uffizi*; reckoned one of the best works of the kind in Italy, as well as the Palazzo Vecchio, with its various subdivisions, all of them painted and embellished by Vasari and his scholars, in a style worthy the residence of a prince. There is one of these divisions, where each room receives its name from some distinguished member of the family, whose exploits it represents. This is one of Vasari's best performances; and of this the part most deserving notice is the chamber of Clement VII., on the ceiling of which he represented that pontiff in the act of crowning Charles V.; depicting in other parts his virtues, his victories, and his most remarkable achievements,—a work in which the magnificence of the prince is rivalled by the judgment and taste of the artist.

It remains for us to say something of the merit of this artist, of whom so much has been written either in praise or blame, by all who have for the last two centuries undertaken to treat of the fine

arts, especially in Italy. Did there exist no other works of his save those in the Palazzo Vecchio—the Conception in S. Apostolo, at Florence, lauded by Borghini as his best performance—the Head of John the Baptist, in the church of that name at Rome, which is set off by exquisite perspective—the Supper of Ahasuerus, in the possession of the Benedictines, at Arezzo—some few of his portraits, which Bottari scrupled not to call worthy of Giorgione—and certain other pictures in which he chose to put forth his ability,—his reputation would be much greater than it is. But he aimed at doing too much; and for the most part preferred dispatch to accuracy of finish. Hence, notwithstanding his expertness in design, his figures are not always correct; and the painting not unfrequently appears languid, from the inferior quality of the colours and the sparing manner in which they are laid on. Now, as Vasari for a long time presided over the works which, by the direction of Cosmo I. and the Prince D. Francesco, were carried on in the capital, and had moreover a number of youthful artists for his coadjutors in those works, it is Baldinucci's opinion that he mainly contributed to introduce that harshness of style which prevailed at Florence.

SALVIATI.

SALVIATI (who was for some time with Andrea del Sarto) and Bronzino, the scholar of Pontormo, were contemporaries of Vasari's; and, like him, led by the natural bent of their genius to imitate M. Angelo. Francesco de' Rossi, who, from the surname of his patrons, is also styled Francesco de' Salviati, was a fellow-student of Vasari's under Andrea del Sarto and Baccio Bandinelli. This latter, who was an eminent sculptor, was in the habit of giving lessons in design to such as were studying painting,—an art which, like Verrocchio, he sometimes cultivated for his own amusement. Hence, Salviati, by spending a considerable time at Rome on terms of intimacy, and almost of brotherly love, with Vasari, was led to pursue the same studies, and to adopt, in the main, the same maxims. He became at length a painter of a more chaste, elevated, and spirited character than his companion; and Vasari himself eulogizes him as the best painter of his day at Rome. He there wrought in various places, covering spacious walls with large historical frescos—the works of which he was most fond. He was endowed with great fertility of invention, and displayed both variety

in his composition, and grandeur in his architectural ornaments,—one of the few who have combined quickness of execution with depth of design; in which latter quality he was eminently skilled, though sometimes a little extravagant. The Battle and Triumph of Furius Camillus, in the Saloon of the Palazzo Vecchio—a work replete with spirit, and one which, as regards the armour, the dresses, and all the usages of ancient Rome, might pass for the performance of an accomplished antiquarian—is the best painting of his that now exists in his native place. There is also, at Santa Croce, an altar-piece of his, representing a Descent from the Cross—a subject which was familiar to him, and of which specimens may be seen in the Panfili palace, at Rome; the church of Corpus Domini, at Venice; and one or two private collections, in which his Holy Families and portraits are by no means rare. The octangular picture at the Grimani palace, representing Psyche, is a work of considerable celebrity, and described by Vasari “as the most beautiful painting in all Venice.” His verdict would have been more impartial, had he called it the most profound in design; but that this picture should pass for a Helen in such a city as Venice, is what no one surely will admit. The features of Psyche are certainly not remarkable for beauty; and the story itself, though well conceived, and embel-

lished with a pretty landscape, and a pretty templet, cannot compare with the fascination of Titian's or Paul Veronese's works; where, as Dante would say, we may sometimes almost fancy we behold "all nature decked in smiles"—*un riso dell' universo*. Salviati evinced much more skill in design than in colouring; and hence, I suspect, it was, that he both failed to make his fortune, and, when he was afterwards induced to visit Paris, was held in little repute, and that his works are also at the present day much less in request, and sold at a much lower rate than those of Titian and Paolo. It would seem that in the arts which minister to our delight, such as poetry and painting, mankind are more ready to put up with mediocrity of learning, than with mediocrity in the power of conferring pleasure. There is great truth in that observation of Salvator Rosa's, who, when asked whether colouring or design were the more to be prized, replied, that he had met with many *Santi di Titos* exposed to sale at a very low price, but had never met with a single *Bassan*.

Angiolo Bronzino was another of Vasari's intimates, and, from the gracefulness of his heads, and the beauty of his compositions, was looked upon as one of the most distinguished among them. He also ranks among poets. His poems were printed with those of Berni; and some of his

letters on painting may be seen in Bottari's collection. Although he was a scholar and an imitator of Pontormo's, we still recognize in him the master of the present epoch. Much praise has been bestowed on his frescos in a chapel at the Palazzo Vecchio, where he has represented the Raining down of the Manna and the Plague of Serpents,—pieces replete with truth and spirit, though the pictures on the roof, which are deemed faulty in point of perspective, do not correspond with them. The Florentine churches contain various altar-pieces of his, among which there are some that have but little merit, with angels whose beauty is of a character too soft and feminine. On the other hand, there are some very beautiful ones, as the *Pietà*, at S. Maria Nuova, and more especially the *Limbo*, at Santa Croce, over the altar appertaining to the Riccasoli family. This picture, indeed, is better fitted for an academy of design, than for the altar of a church: but its author was too much prepossessed in favour of M. Angelo not to be ready to imitate him even in this fault. The different galleries of Italy are rich in his portraits, which would deserve commendation for their truth and spirit, were it not that their merit is not unfrequently impaired by the colouring of his fleshs, which are sometimes of a leaden, sometimes of a too pallid hue, and tinged by a red which looks like rouge. The

colour, however, which usually predominates in his paintings is of a yellowish cast ; and the principal objection brought against his works, is the want of relief.

Alessandro Allori, the scholar and nephew of Bronzino, is held to be inferior to his uncle. Devoting himself almost exclusively to anatomy, of which he afforded some beautiful specimens in the tribune of the church of the Servi, and on which he wrote a treatise for the use of painters, he paid but too little attention to the other branches of the art. In the ducal gallery, however, there is a *Sacrifice of Isaac*, coloured almost in the Flemish style. Of his merit in expression, we have a proof in an altar-piece of his at Santo Spirito, representing the Woman taken in Adultery. He was also expert at portrait-painting, though this faculty he sometimes abused, by introducing, into subjects taken from ancient story, the portraits of individuals arrayed in the costume of the moderns ; a fault not unusual at that period. His talents seem, in short, to have been equally adapted to every department of painting ; but being unequally cultivated, they were of course unequally developed. He painted a good deal for foreigners, and enjoyed the esteem of the Medicean princes, who engaged him to finish the frescos commenced at Poggio a Caiano by Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio, and Pontormo ; and left, some in a more,

some in a less imperfect state. Opposite to these he also executed some from designs of his own; such as the Gardens of the Hesperides, the Supper of Syphax and Titus Flaminus, where the latter discountenances the league between the Ætolians and Achæians—subjects which, like the Cæsar and the Cicero, were emblematical of similar events in the history of Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici.

Santi Titi, a native of Città San Sepolcro, the scholar of Bronzino and Cellini, studied for a long time at Rome, from whence he brought away with him a style in the highest degree tasteful and elegant. His style of beauty has not much of the ideal in it; but he has imparted to his heads a certain plumpness, a certain appearance of freshness and health, that makes him second to none of those who copy from nature. In point of design, which was his *forte*, he was, as we have already observed, eulogized and instanced as a model by Salvator Rosa. Expression is another point in which he has but few superiors in other schools, and not one in his own. He is also happy in his decorations; for having attained some reputation as an architect, he was enabled to introduce perspectives, which add much to the majesty and fascination of his compositions. He passes for the best painter of this third epoch, and belongs to it rather from the period at which he lived, than from his style; except, indeed, as regards the

colouring, which is for the most part very languid and deficient in relief. Borghini, who criticises and defends him at the same time, tells us that he was not wanting even in this respect, when he chose to pay attention to it; and it would seem that he really did pay attention to it—in the Supper at Emmaus, in the church of S. Croce, at Florence—in the Resurrection of Lazarus, in the cathedral of Volterra—and in a picture at Città di Castello, in which he represented the Faithful receiving the Holy Ghost by the laying on of the Apostles' hands; a picture which, even after the three *Raphaels* that adorn that city, may yet be contemplated with pleasure.

Antonio Tempesti. One of the first in Italy who gained a reputation for landscapes and battle-pieces, was Antonio Tempesti, a Florentine, the scholar of Stradano, rather than of Titi. He painted but few large pieces, and those few not very happily executed; the greater portion of his pictures being on a small scale. The Niccolini family, the Padri della Nunziata, and others at Florence, have battle-pieces of his painted on alabaster, in which he seemed to pave the way for Borgognone, who is said to have attentively studied his works. He painted most frequently in fresco, as at Caprarola, the Villa d' Este at Tivoli, and various places at Rome, as early as the time of Gregory XIII. A great part of the historical

pieces in the Gallery of the Vatican is the work of his hand: the figures are a palm and a half long; and so numerous, diversified, and animated are they—so well set off with all the charms of architecture, as well as by little landscapes and decorations of every kind, that it is altogether a most admirable performance. His style is not the most chaste, and his colouring sometimes degenerates into the dingy; but we readily overlook all his faults in consideration of that fervour which possesses him, and that creative fancy which lifts him above the earth, and bears him aloft through unknown regions, prohibited to the vulgar herd of artists.*

* One of the principal painters omitted in this third epoch, is Poccetti, sometimes called the Paolo Veronese of the Florentine school.

FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

EPOCH IV.

CIGOLI AND HIS ASSOCIATES BRING ABOUT AN
IMPROVEMENT IN THE ART.

WHILE the Florentines looked solely to M. Angelo and his most accredited imitators as their models, they fell into the same fault as the poets of the fifteenth century, who looked up to Petrarch, and Petrarch's followers alone—they contracted a marked similarity of style, differing from each other only according to their individual talents and genius. At length, about the year 1580, the time arrived, when they began to depart from the models afforded by their own countrymen, in order to imitate those of foreigners; and then it was that the Florentine style became vigorous and varied. This change was brought about by two young painters, Lodovico Cigoli and Gregorio Pagani. These youths, as Baldinucci informs us, attracted by the fame of Barocci, and the celebrity of a picture of his which he had then recently forwarded from Urbino to Arezzo, and which is now in the ducal gallery at Florence,

set out together to look at it; and having examined it with the most scrupulous attention, became so enamoured of its style, that they forthwith renounced that of their own masters. These two were afterwards joined by Passignano; and, in imitation of their example, other youths were induced to abandon the old method and adopt a more vigorous style; as was more especially the case with Empoli, Curradi, and certain others. These were succeeded by Cristofano Allori and Rosselli, who in turn transmitted the new style to their scholars.

Still, however, they were not so much the followers of Barocci, as of Coreggio, the model of Barocci. Unable to undertake a journey into Lombardy, they set themselves to study the few copies of his works, and the still fewer originals, that were to be found at Florence, with a view more especially of catching his felicity in the management of light and shade—a branch of the art at that time almost wholly neglected at Florence, and even at Rome. Hence, by degrees, the art of modelling in chalk and wax was revived; recourse was had to paste or stucco; the effects of light and shade were more carefully observed; and less deference was paid to prescription, and more to nature. Thus arose a new style, which, in my opinion, may be ranked among the most perfect ever attempted in Italy; combining the

correctness of the Florentine, with the softness and relief of the Lombard school. Had they but paid a little more attention to elegance of contour and accuracy of expression, the reform which about this period took place in painting, would be no less ascribable to Florence than to Bologna.

Having noticed what was most deserving of commendation in the style of this period, we must not omit to mention what was less praiseworthy; and that was a sombreness of colouring then too much in vogue, and which, at the present day, renders many of the pictures of that age of little or no value. This fault is attributed to the method of laying on the grounds, which had every where undergone a change for the worse: whence it is that this fault is not confined to the Florentines, but found to extend throughout the whole of Italy. But besides this, the defect arose partly from the rage for chiaroscuro which then prevailed. It is the characteristic of every school of any standing to carry to excess the leading maxims of its founder. This, as regards painting, we have already noticed in the preceding epoch—this we shall have to notice in every succeeding one—and this, were it worth while, we might also prove to be the case in literature,—the corruption of taste arising, in fact, from nothing else but the carrying of a sound maxim to excess.

LODOVICO CARDI DA CIGOLI.

CIGOLI, the scholar of Santi di Tito, to judge of him from his existing works, appears successfully to have imitated Coreggio in the management of chiaroscuro, and to have combined with it an accuracy of design, a judiciousness of perspective, and a vivacity of colouring, beyond the rest of his countrymen, among whom he unquestionably holds one of the foremost ranks. In his pictures, however, we meet not with that contrast, strength, and clearness of colouring, nor with that gracefulness in the foreshortenings and features, which form the distinguishing character of the great founder of the Lombard school. In a word, he was the inventor of a style, original, and always beautiful, but somewhat unequal; especially if we compare his earlier works with those he executed after having visited Rome. His colouring, for the most part, savours of the Lombard school: occasionally his draperies betray something of Paul Veronese's method; and not unfrequently, his manner might be compared with the bolder style of Guercino.

Besides the many pictures of his in the possession of the Grand Duke and the noble family

of Pecori, there are also some, though no great number, in the hands of private individuals. His picture of the Trinity, at Santa Croce; the S. Alberto, at S. Maria Maggiore; and the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, in the possession of the nuns of Monte Domini, and looked upon by Pietro da Cortona as one of the finest altar-pieces at Florence, are all in very high repute. Of equal merit is the altar-piece which he executed for the church of the Conventuals, at Cortona, where he represented St. Anthony in the act of Converting a Heretic by the miraculous circumstance of a Mule kneeling during the celebration of Mass,—a picture which usually passes for the best in that highly-decorated city. In the Vatican there is a picture of his representing St. Peter restoring the Lame Man to the use of his limbs,—an admirable performance, which, after Raphael's Transfiguration, and Domenichino's St. Jerome, Sacchi esteemed the third best picture in Rome: and well may the Florentine school be proud of the panegyric, conferred, as it was, by a profound connoisseur, and one by no means prodigal of praise. But this master-piece, which gained him the rank of a Cavalier, has, owing to the dampness of the church, the defective nature of the *imprimitura*, or ground, and the unskilfulness of the person who took upon him to clean it, been utterly ruined. On the contrary, there still exists a

fresco-painting of his in one of the chapels of S. Maria Maggiore, at Rome; and in this, owing to some oversight in point of perspective—which, notwithstanding his earnest entreaties, he was not permitted to correct—he appears to great disadvantage. Fortune seems, in some sort, to have persecuted this great man. Had the above-mentioned fresco perished, and the oil-painting in question come down uninjured to our days, Cigoli would have enjoyed a higher reputation, and Balducci have gained greater credit.

Gregorio Pagani was initiated in the rudiments of art by Titi; and was led to adopt a better method by Cigoli. By foreigners he was eulogized as a second Cigoli, so long as his native place could boast the possession of a work of his at the Carmine, representing the Finding of the Cross,—a work which has been honoured with an engraving. But the picture having perished in the fire that consumed the church, there no longer remains any considerable work of his in public, with the exception of a fresco or two, one of which may be seen in the cloister of S. Maria Novella, which, though it has sustained some injury from time, is far from doing him any discredit. In the Florentine collections he is rarely to be met with, he having executed a great many works for foreign states.

Passignano. Another of Cigoli's companions

was Domenico da Passignano, the scholar of Naldini and Federico Zuccaro, whom he most resembles in point of style. Having spent a considerable time at Venice, where he also took to himself a wife, he became a warm admirer of the Venetian school, and used to say, that no man, who had not seen Venice, could justly flatter himself with being a painter. This serves sufficiently to account for his style, which is neither the most studied, nor the most correct: it is, however, of an elevated character, enriched, like Paul Veronese's works, with architectural ornaments and splendid drapery, more than that of any other Florentine; sometimes resembling Tintoretto's in point of movement, as well as, unfortunately, in the excessive oiliness of the colouring,—a circumstance to which we may attribute the loss of many of the works of both these masters.

Cristofano Allori, who, in consequence of adopting the maxims of the three artists above-commended, lived continually at variance with Alessandro, his father and master, is, in the opinion of many, the greatest painter of this epoch. When I reflect on the excellence to which he attained in the course of a life by no means long, I can hardly help looking upon him as the Cantarini of his school. These two artists, moreover, bear no little resemblance to each other in the beauty, gracefulness, and finish of their figures, save that

Cantarini is more ideal in his style of beauty, Cristofano more happy in the colouring of his fleshs. And this latter is the more extraordinary, inasmuch as Cristofano knew nothing either of the Carracci or of Guido, supplying the want by the nicety of his discernment, and the pertinacity of his application; for he never desisted from his task till his hand had completely embodied the conceptions of his mind. Owing to this circumstance, and to the vices which often diverted him from his works, his pictures are extremely scarce, and he himself but too little known. The S. Giuliano of the Pitti palace is the noblest monument of his genius; and if it cannot be placed among the foremost in that celebrated collection, it at least holds the first rank among those of second-rate merit.

CARLO DOLCI.

DOLCI is in the Florentine, what Sassoferrato is in the Roman school. Both the one and the other, without possessing any great powers of invention, grew into very high repute for Madonnas and other works on a small scale, which now fetch

enormous prices; for the great, ambitious of having in their oratories pictures at once precious in themselves and of a religious cast, are frequent in their inquiries after the works of these two masters; notwithstanding that they pursued very different paths. Carlo Dolci is not so celebrated for the beauty of his performances—for, like his master, Jacopo Vignali, he was content to copy nature as he found her—as for their exquisite finish, and the genuine expression of certain devout affections; such as the patient suffering of the Saviour, or the Virgin; the penitential compunction of a Saint; or the holy exultation of a Martyr, offering himself up as a victim in the cause of the living God. The colouring and general tone of his pictures are in unison with the feelings he undertakes to express: there is no attempt at show or ostentation; all is modesty, repose, and placid harmony. In him we recognize the manner of Rosselli, though improved upon; just as we can sometimes recognize the features of the grandsire in those of his descendant. There still exist some few works of his on a large scale, such as the St. Anthony, in the Royal Museum; the Conception, in the possession of the Rinuccini family; the Evangelists, in that of the Riccardi; some few pictures from profane story, some few portraits, and the celebrated figure of poetry in the Corsini palace. His small pictures, for each of which he

usually received a hundred crowns, are exceedingly numerous ; having been often repeated by himself ; sometimes, too, by his scholars, Alessandro Lomi and Bartolommeo Mancini ; and not unfrequently by his daughter, Agnese Dolci, who successfully imitated her father's style, though she could not equal it. The two Madonnas of his, in the possession of the Grand Duke, and the Martyrdom of St. Andrew, in that of the Marquis Gerini, have been very frequently copied.*

FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

EPOCH V.

THE CORTONESCHI.

AFTER the middle of the seventeenth century, the Florentine and Roman schools underwent a remarkable change, brought about by the numbers who adopted Pietro da Cortona's style. It is with painting as with philosophy : one sect succeeds another, and the new-fangled maxims are

* The more distinguished painters omitted under this fourth epoch, are Jacopo Empoli—Matteo Rosselli—Giovanni da S. Giovanni—Baldassare Franceschini, sometimes styled Volterrano—Lorenzo Lippi—Jacopo Ligozzi—Aurelio Lomi—the two Gentileschi—the two Riminaldi---Pietro Paolini---and Pietro Testa.

propagated more or less rapidly, according to the different degrees of opposition they happen to meet with in the different states where it is proposed to disseminate them. Pietro da Cortona's style was not received without some degree of opposition at Rome. He was subsequently invited to Florence by Ferdinand II. about the year 1640, for the purpose of decorating some of the apartments of the Pitti palace; and this work, on which he spent several years, proved, in the opinion of connoisseurs, the most beautiful he ever executed. In one of these apartments he represented the five ages of the world: five others were, as one might say, dedicated to five of the heathen deities, Minerva, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Mercury; and were accordingly called by their respective names. In each chamber he blended mythology with history: for example, on the ceiling in the chamber of Apollo, he depicted this patron of the fine arts in the act of welcoming the youthful Hercules, whom Minerva presents to him that he may have the benefit of his instructions; while on the walls he represented Alexander reading the works of Homer, Augustus listening to those of Virgil, and other similar stories. This great work was completed by Ciro Ferri; for his master Cortona, after having begun the chamber of Mercury, from some cause of disgust which is differently accounted for, adroitly withdrew from court, returned to

Rome, and though repeatedly invited, could never be prevailed upon to revisit Florence. In that city, however, he had already laid the foundation of a new school. Baldinucci tells us that, at Florence, to see and admire Pietro's style, was, even with the more eminent artists, one and the same thing. The choice made by Cosmo III., who granted a pension to Ciro Ferri, while at Rome, on condition of his affording instruction to such Tuscans as were prosecuting their studies there, afterwards contributed to give it vogue. From that period there was scarcely any Tuscan artist who did not, more or less, adopt Cortona's style. It is fit that we should now describe it, and trace it to its source.

PIETRO DA CORTONA.

PIETRO BERRETTINI, a native of Cortona, the scholar of Comodi in Tuscany and of Ciarpi at Rome, and noticed also among the writers on painting, formed his style of design by copying the old relievos, and the chiaroscuros of Polidoro—a man who almost seems to have been animated by the soul of one of the ancients. It is said that Trajan's column was Cortona's favourite model; and that from thence he derived that tendency to

heaviness in his proportions, and that strength and robustness observable even in his female and infantine figures; in the eyes, noses, and lips of which he usually exceeded the middle size,—to say nothing of the hands and feet, which assuredly are not remarkable for elegance. But the art of contrast—the art of opposing group to group, figure to figure, and part to part—in which he attained the highest eminence, he appears to have derived from Lanfranco; though partly perhaps from those Bacchanalian sarcophagi which Passeri particularly notices in his life. The Venetian school, too, may perhaps have had some share in forming his taste; since—if we may credit Boschini, a professed admirer of his—having gone thither to prosecute his studies, he “afterwards, on his return to Rome, caused all that he had previously executed at the Barberini palace to be defaced, and painted those works afresh.” For the rest, he seldom displays any great degree of finish, except in the more prominent parts; he avoids strong shadows, delights in middle tints, prefers the darker grounds, colours without affectation, and passes for the founder and greatest ornament of a style, which, according to the verdict of Mengs, combines facility with taste. In works on a larger scale, and yet more in those on ceilings, cupolas, and recesses, (*sfondi*,) he carried it to a pitch of beauty, which can never fail to procure

him panegyrist and imitators. That expertness of grouping, which, with the help of architecture, he displays in all his historical pieces; that skillfulness in aerial perspective, by which he contrives to give an idea of the immensity of space above the clouds; that address in the art of foreshortening on ceilings; that play of seemingly celestial light; that symmetry in the disposition of his figures—all these form a combination of beauties which fascinate the eye and expand the soul.

True it is that this style does not always equally satisfy the understanding; inasmuch as, intent on captivating the eye, it brings unnecessary actors upon the stage, to the end that the composition may not be deficient in the accustomed fulness; and inasmuch as, with a view to contrast, the personages of the piece are made to attitudinize, even in the performance of the gentlest actions, as if they were engaged in a tournament or battle. Berrettini, whom nature had blessed with a depth of judgment equal to his facility of execution, either steered altogether clear of such extravagancies, as in his stupendous Conversion of St. Paul, at Rome; or at least did not carry them to that excess, to which, from the usual tendency of every school to overcharge the peculiarities of its founder, they have in our days been carried by his followers. For hence, the easy style degenerated into the negligent, the tasteful into the affected; till

at length, even the schools which adhered to it the most, begin now to abandon it, and pursue a surer method.

SIENESE SCHOOL.

EPOCH I.

THE OLD MASTERS.

THE Sieneſe School may be called the ſprightly ſchool of a ſprightly people ; poſſeſſing ſuch fascination from the judicious ſelection of its colours, and the graceful air of its heads, that foreigners have ſometimes been ſo much taken with it, as even to prefer it to the Florentine. This preference, however, is not attributable ſolely to the ſprightlineſs of manner above-mentioned ; but in part to a circumſtance that has been obſerved by few, and never brought forward by any. All the beſt works of the Sieneſe painters are to be met with in public in the different churches of Siena ; and whoever happens to have examined theſe, has no great need—in order to form an opinion of thoſe painters—to inſpect the private collections, which are both numerous and well ſtocked. At Florence it is otherwiſe : none of Da Vinci's, Bonarruoti's, or Roſſo's pictures, are to be ſeen in

public; none of the finest works of Andrea or Fra Bartolommeo; and but few even of such others as have best sustained the reputation of the school: a great proportion of the churches abounds in pictures of the third and fifth epochs; respectable certainly, but not calculated to awaken such admiration as those of the Razzi, the Vanni, and other celebrated artists, to be found at every step in Siena. A comparison between the two schools has been instituted by Della Valle; and his decision seems to be, that the Florentine painters are the most philosophical, the Sieneſe the most poetical. On this subject he obſerves, that the Sieneſe ſchool, even from its very outſet, diſplays a peculiar talent for invention; animating the ſtories it undertakes to repreſent with ideas of a lively and novel character; filling them with allegorical imagery, and investing them with all the life and ſpirit of a well-constructed poem. He further obſerves, that thoſe painters applied themſelves more eſpecially to expreſſion. Nor was the cultivation of this branch of art a matter of difficulty in a city ſo averſe to diſſimulation as Siena; where, both from education and natural diſpoſition, the tongue and the countenance are apt to give uncontrolled utterance to the emotions of the mind. This ſame vivacity of temper may, perhaps, have prevented them from attaining to any great eminence in deſign, which is not the *forte*

of those masters, as it may be said to be of the Florentines. For the rest, the Sienese school does not possess a character for originality equal to that of some others; and, as we shall see in the sequel, its artists have, even during its most flourishing period, distinguished themselves by imitating, some one style, some another. As to the number of painters Siena has produced, these have been found to vary directly as its population: so long as it boasted a large population, it boasted also a number of artists; but with the diminution of the former, the number of those who cultivated the fine arts also decreased, till at length every vestige of a school was lost.

The accounts we have of the Sienese painters are somewhat confused as regards the first three centuries, in consequence of the frequent occurrence of such names as Mino, Lippi, Vanni, (abbreviations of *Giacomino*, *Filippo*, *Giovanni*,) and other proper names unaccompanied by the corresponding surname. The origin of the Sienese school has been deduced either from the Crusades in the East, whence one or two Greek painters may have been brought to Siena; or else from Pisa, whose first masters were, as we have said, natives of Greece. In a question of this kind every one must judge for himself; to me it seems that we have not sufficient data to decide the matter. Of this, however, I am sure, that Italy was

never destitute of such painters as employed themselves on illuminations ; and that from these, even without the aid of Greeks, some of the schools of Italy took their rise. Artists of this kind were to be met with at Siena as early as the twelfth century.

The oldest pictures of the city, such as the *Madonna delle Grazie*, that of *Tressa*, that of *Bethlehem*, a *St. Peter* in the church of that name, and a *St. John the Baptist* in that of *S. Petronilla* accompanied by several little historical pieces, are thought to be of an earlier date than the year 1200 ; but it is by no means certain that they are the work of Italians, though, from the inscriptions, the stucco ornaments, and the design, some have supposed that they are so.

The series of painters whose names have come down to us begins with *Guido*, or *Guidone*, whom we have already had occasion to mention at the beginning of this volume. He flourished before *Cimabue* was born ; and seems to have been at once an illuminator of books and a painter. *Guido*, it is admitted, departed not a little from the rude style of the Greeks, in that picture of the *Virgin*, placed in the chapel of the *Malevolti* family, at the church of *S. Domenico*, where he set the example—an example which, much to the advantage of the history of art, has frequently been imitated

by other masters of the same school—of thus inscribing his name and the date of the picture :—

Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amēnis
Quem Christus lenis nullis velit agere pēnis.

An. 1221.

In this venerable picture the countenance is of a very pleasing kind, and has nothing of that grim appearance which forms the distinguishing character of the Greeks: in the drapery, too, we recognize some vestiges of the modern manner. Still, however, Cimabue's two Madonnas at Florence, the one in the church of S. Trinità, the other in that of S. Maria Novella, are not inferior to it. On the contrary, in these latter we discern the progress of art: the colouring is livelier; that of the fleshs more correct; the posture of the Infant Saviour's head more natural; and the accessories, such as the throne on which the Virgin is seated, and the *gloria* of Angels, in a better style.

In a manuscript in the library of Siena, we find the following memorandum, for the year 1289 :—
“Paid this twelfth day of August nineteen *lire* to Maestro Mino, the painter, who executed the picture of the Virgin Mary, accompanied by other Saints, in the Council Chamber of the Palazzo Pubblico, the balance,” &c. This Mino—whom the manuscript styles Maestro Mino, and who

must not, as has been supposed, be confounded with Fra Mino da Turrìta—represented, in the above-mentioned picture, the Virgin with the Infant Saviour and a company of Angels, under a canopy supported by the Apostles and the patron Saints of the city. This work, whether we regard the size of the figures, the invention, or the distribution of the whole, is an extraordinary performance for that age: we cannot judge of it with so much certainty in other respects; inasmuch as it was restored by Simone da Siena in 1321; and moreover exhibits some such beautiful touches both in the heads and the drapery, as cannot but be ascribed to the restorer's hand. Here, then, we have at Siena an artist who had made some approaches to the modern style before the time of Giotto, who in 1289 was but thirteen years of age. This Mino, and Duccio, of whom we shall shortly have to speak, may doubtless have formed pupils equal to enter into competition with Giotto's scholars; and, supposing them to have enjoyed a long life, even to surpass Giotto himself. But there is no reason why, upon the strength of this picture, we should award the palm to the Siennese painters in preference to Cimabue. Mino or Minuccio first becomes known to us when Cimabue was now already fifty years of age; and is only known to us by one single surviving work, and that neither of such magnitude nor so free from

restoration, as the one at Assisi already described : the comparison therefore is unfair.

To this period also must we refer *Ugolino da Siena*, who died of mere old age in the year 1339 ; so that he must have been born previous to the year 1260. That he was initiated in the art at Siena, seems to me not improbable, both because of the many masters who then flourished in that city, and because his colouring, as observable in the Madonna of his in the church of Orsanmichele at Florence, is in the style of the old Sienese school ; neither of such a body nor so true to nature as that of Cimabue and the rest of the Florentines. Such is the only observation to which, in my opinion, we can attach much weight ; depending as it does on the mechanical parts of the art, which differed with difference of place. As to the design of those early times, that every where savoured more or less of the Greek manner ; and Ugolino was unfortunately but too tenacious of it.

Duccio di Boninsegna is another master who flourished at the same period. With regard to Duccio, Tizio has left us this flattering testimony : “Duccio of Siena, the foremost of his time among artists of this kind ; from whose studio, as from another Trojan horse, there came forth many admirable painters.” The phrase *his time* refers to the year 1311, when Giotto was at Avignon ; and when, after the labour of three years, Duccio had

completed the picture of his that still exists in the Casa dell' Opera, a picture which forms a sort of epoch in the annals of art. It was necessarily on a very large scale, being designed for the grand altar of the cathedral. On the side which faces the people he depicted large figures of the Virgin and various Saints, and on that which fronts the choir, divided as it was into a variety of compartments, he represented different subjects from the Gospel history, containing figures of a palm in length and in great number. Pius II., in his *Annali Senesi*, which were never published, tells us that it cost two thousand florins; while others say as many as three thousand; and this, not so much in consequence of what the painter received for it, as on account of the vast quantity of gilding and ultramarine lavished upon it. Its style, according to the general opinion, retains some vestiges of the Greek manner; it is, however, one of the most copious, as well as one of the best works of its time.

On coming to the renowned *Simone Memmi*, or Simon di Martino, the painter of Laura, and the friend of Petrarch—by whom he has been celebrated in two sonnets, of themselves enough to immortalize him—we find the details of history more copious. The poet has moreover eulogized him in his letters, in one of which he says—"I know of two admirable painters, Giotto of Flo-

rence, who of all modern artists enjoys the highest reputation, and Simon of Siena ;” which was certainly not placing the latter on an equality with Giotto, to whom a double share of praise is assigned, but representing him as next in merit after him. I cannot think that, on so opportune an occasion, he would have omitted to add that he was *Iocti discipulum*, “a scholar of Giotto’s,” had he been aware that such was the case: but he seems to have been ignorant of it; and this leads us to doubt whether he really did study under Giotto at Rome, however positively Vasari may assert this to have been the case, and that it was then that the mosaic of the Navicella was executed. The Sieneſe diſpute this point, and not without reaſon; for in 1298 Simone was but fourteen years of age. Hence they will have it that he was the ſcholar of their own Mino, and certainly he ſeems to borrow largely from the great freſco already noticed; though the circumſtance of his having retouched it himſelf makes us indiſpoſed to attach much weight to mere ſimilarity of ſtyle. The colouring, too, is more diverſified than that of the *Giotteschi*, and has ſuch a degree of floridneſs that it would almoſt ſeem the harbinger of Baroccio’s ſtyle. But if he was not Giotto’s diſciple, he may perhaps on ſome occaſions have been his coadjutor, and if not that, at leaſt his admirer. Hence it was that he imitated his ſtyle to ſuch a nicety

in St. Peter's at Rome; and to his talent in this respect he owed his introduction to the Pope at Avignon, where he died. This painting at the Vatican has perished: others of his, however, still exist; and more of them at Pisa and Florence than at Siena itself. At Pisa he represented in the Campo Santo certain actions of S. Ranieri; and that famous Assumption where the Virgin is surrounded by a company of Angels who, while celebrating her triumph, actually seem to be soaring above the earth.

Though it is not my wont to say much on the subject of illuminations, I shall not omit to mention one which I met with in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and which seemed to me a remarkable performance. In that library there is a manuscript Virgil with Servius's commentary, formerly in Petrarch's possession. By way of frontispiece there is an illumination, which there is good reason to suppose Simone was employed to paint by the poet himself, who accompanied it with these lines:—

Mantua Virgilium qui talia carmina finxit;
Sena tulit Simonem digito qui talia pinxit."

The artist has here represented Virgil seated, in the act of writing, and, with eyes turned towards the sky, invoking the Muse's aid. Æneas stands before him in the garb and bearing of a

warrior ; and, pointing to his sword, indicates the subject of the *Æneid*: the *Bucolics* are typified by a shepherd, and the *Georgics* by a husbandman, both of them placed in a lower plane, and intent on listening to the poet's strain. Meanwhile, Servius is seen drawing aside a veil, or curtain, composed of a very fine and transparent substance, to intimate that his commentary serves to explain those parts of the divine poet's works, which would otherwise remain obscure and unintelligible to the reader.

Lorenzo, familiarly styled *Lorenzetto*, was the founder of another family of painters, also of distinguished merit: he was the father of one *Ambrogio*, whom, from that circumstance, biographers call *Lorenzetti*. In the *Palazzo Pubblico*, there is a large work of this artist's, on which the words *Ambrosius Laurentii* are inscribed, and which may be called a moral poem. The vices of a corrupt government are there portrayed under various aspects, and with suitable emblems ; verses being added here and there to explain their nature and effects. There, too, the Virtues are seen, according to modern parlance, personified, and accompanied with appropriate symbols. Various other frescos and large pictures of his are to be seen at Siena, but they do not excite our admiration like his smaller ones, in which he seems to pave the way for *Beato Angelico*, whom we have eulogized

in the proper place. I have seen nothing like him among his contemporaries: he has, moreover, an air of nationality, which prevents him from being confounded with the *Giotteschi*; differing from them wholly in taste, colouring, and drapery.

Another of Lorenzo's sons was named Pietro; of whom there exists in the Campo Santo of Pisa *La Vita de' Padri dell' Eremita*, where, following Ecclesiastical History as his guide, he has represented the discipline of those monks in all its variety—a picture which, if I am not much mistaken, is the richest in point of invention, as well as the most novel and best conceived, that is to be found there.*

* The other more distinguished painters of this epoch were Taddeo di Bartolo, Domenico Bartoli, and Matteo di Giovanni, by some called the Masaccio of his school, though far inferior to the Florentine Masaccio.

SIENESE SCHOOL.

EPOCH II.

FOREIGN PAINTERS AT SIENA.—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE MODERN STYLE IN THAT CITY.

HITHERTO we have not met with a single foreigner at Siena, capable of playing the master, and giving a new character to the school. But this, however much it may have served the purpose of the Sienese painters themselves, was of no little detriment to the art. At length, however, the great became sensible of the decline of the native school, and the necessity of having recourse to foreign artists. The Florentine style was at that time in high repute at Rome; but their ancient rivalry, and other political considerations, prevented the Sienese from adopting it. Perugia was not deemed liable to the same objections. From thence they invited, first, Bonfigli; then his scholar, Pietro Perugino, who executed two altar-pieces there; and lastly, various disciples of the latter, who remained there a long time in the service of two natives of Siena well known in history. The one was Cardinal Francesco Piccolo-

mini, who shortly afterwards became Pius III. : he, wishing to decorate the sacristy of the cathedral—besides the chapel appropriated to his family—with various historical pieces from the life of his uncle, Pius II., invited Pinturicchio to Siena ; and the latter brought with him from Perugia not only others of Pietro's scholars, but even Raphael himself, who is said to have prepared the designs for those pieces, either entirely or in great part. The other was Pandolfo Petrucci, who, for some time, played the tyrant at Siena, and being anxious to embellish his palace and one or two churches, availed himself of Signorelli and Genga, as well as recalled Pinturicchio.

All this took place at the commencement of the sixteenth century, for the sacristy was considered as finished in 1503, and in 1508 Pinturicchio was recalled ; nor does any very long interval seem to have elapsed before the arrival of Genga, one of Pietro's scholars, and Signorelli. Thenceforward the Sienese school began to make rapid strides towards the modern style ; the design, the laying on of the colours, the perspective, all became perfected in the space of a few years. About that period Siena could boast of four painters endowed with a felicity of genius capable of ensuring success in the noblest undertakings—Pacchiarotto, Razzi, Mecherino, and Peruzzi. Whoever should

compare their works with those of Matteo, would imagine that between them and him a long series of years must have intervened ; and yet they were all four alive at the time of Matteo's death.

PACCHIAROTTO.

JACOPO PACCHIAROTTO is the most addicted of all to Pietro Perugino's manner, though he neither belonged to his school, nor perhaps had ever been away from Siena till 1535. During that year, the populace having for some cause been incited to insurrection against the government, and Pacchiarotto having put himself forward as one of the ringleaders, he would have lost his life on the scaffold, but for the protection of the Padri Osservanti, who kept him for some time concealed within a tomb ; till at length he had an opportunity of withdrawing secretly into France, where he wrought together with Rosso, and where he is supposed to have died. Various cabinet pictures and altar-pieces of his, in the style of Perugino, are to be met with at Siena ; particularly a very beautiful one in the church of St. Christopher. In his frescos of St. Catherine and St. Bernardine,

executed in competition with the most eminent of the Sieneſe painters, he evinces alſo an admirable talent for deſign. It ſeems certain that he attentively ſtudied the works of Raphael: there are ſome figures, as well as heads of his, inveſted with ſuch a graceful and fascinating air, that ſome connoiſſeurs have been diſpoſed to aſſign them to that great maſter of the *beau ideal*. Nevertheless, Pacchiarotto is almoſt unknown beyond the confines of his native place; Vaſari having only mentioned him incidentally; while his paintings are either referred to Perugino himſelf or his ſcholars.

RAZZI.

GIANNANTONIO RAZZI, otherwiſe called the Cav. Sodoma, was undoubtedly enrolled among the citizens of Siena; but whether he was born at Vergelle, a Sieneſe village, or at Vercelli, in Piedmont, has been made matter of diſpute. Vaſari makes him a native of Vercelli. To this opinion I am diſpoſed to incline, on conſidering the colour of his fleſhes, the character of his chiaroscuro, and certain other peculiarities of the old Milanese

school, and of Giovanni, who flourished at Vercelli during the earlier years of Sodoma: of that style I think I can distinguish some vestiges in the works of the latter; I speak more particularly of those he executed while he was as yet fresh from his school. During the pontificate of Julius II. he wrought at Rome. He there executed various paintings at the Vatican, which, not having been approved of by the Pope, were defaced: Raphael substituted others in their stead, but let the arabesques remain. Razzi afterwards executed some pictures from the life of Alexander the Great, in the Chigi palace, now called the Farnesina. There he represented the Nuptials of Roxana, and the Suppliant Family of Darius; of which the former is the best. They do not exhibit the elegance, the grace, nor the dignified heads, that characterize Da Vinci's style; but they betray a predilection for the same style of chiaroscuro, which was then in high repute among the Lombards. Perspective, their hereditary attribute, also occupies a prominent place in these works; which abound with gay images—such as little Cupids shooting their arrows, or retinues that fascinate the eye.

Nevertheless, his works at Siena, the fruit of his studies in Rome, and of his riper years, are still superior. The Epiphany, in the church of St. Augustine, was, by a distinguished foreign con-

noisseur who spoke to me of it in terms of the highest admiration, esteemed worthy of Da Vinci himself. The Scourging of Christ, in the cloister of St. Francis, has by some even been preferred to M. Angelo's figures; of the justness of which preference I leave to connoisseurs to judge: it seems, at any rate, to be their unanimous opinion that Razzi never produced a better picture. There are who think no less highly of his St. Sebastian, now in the Florentine gallery, which is supposed to be a copy from some antique *torso*. The St. Catherine of Siena in a Swoon, which he executed in fresco in a chapel of S. Domenico, is much in the style of Raphael. Peruzzi was enraptured with it, and declared that he had never seen the effects of swooning so naturally represented by any other painter. In general, however, there is in his paintings a certain air and varied expression, which he did not borrow from any one. These peculiarities were, as I suspect, picked up among the Sieneſe,—as was usual also with other artists of this school, whose heads possess all that gaiety, openness, and sprightliness, for which the Sieneſe are so remarkable. He wrought frequently without any preparatory study, and in a careless manner; more especially in his old age, when, being unable to procure employment enough at Siena, he was reduced to the necessity of seeking it at Pisa, Volterra, and Lucca. Still, in all his

pictures, we recognize the hand of a master, who, even when he would not take the trouble to paint well, could not paint badly. Annibal Carracci, when passing through Siena, observed, that “Razzi appeared to be a first-rate master, and of first-rate taste, and that of such pictures”—he alluded to his best remaining works in Siena—“very few were to be found.”

MECHERINO.

DOMENICO BECCAFUMI derived his nick-name of Mecherino from a citizen of Siena, who, having observed him, while he was a shepherd boy, drawing something or other upon a stone, took it as a favourable omen of his genius; and having obtained his father's consent, carried him to the city, and, according to Gigli, recommended him to the care of Capanna. He exercised himself at that time in copying the designs of eminent artists, and in imitating Pietro Perugino's pictures, whose style he at first adopted: nor did he ever entirely divest himself of it; betraying a dryness of manner even in his pictures in the cathedral of Pisa, though they were the work of his maturer years. On his visit to Rome during the pontificate

of Julius II., a new scene opened on his view, both in the remains of ancient sculpture, which he designed with the most unwearied assiduity, and in those paintings which M. Angelo and Raphael had executed in emulation of each other. Returning to Siena after an interval of two years, and still continuing to cultivate design with the same unwearied attention, he found himself in a condition to enter into competition with Razzi; and, if we are to credit Vasari, even surpassed him. This point we may, perhaps, concede, so far as regards perspective and fertility of invention. But at Siena itself Mecherino is considered inferior to Razzi in other branches of the art; and the various places where they painted in competition with each other, renders the comparison easy enough to any one disposed to make it. At first he indulged his placidity of disposition by painting in a style of congenial sweetness; making choice, at that time, of heads remarkable for grace and beauty, and, above all, taking special care to repeat the portrait of a favourite mistress. Of considerable celebrity in this kind is the picture placed at S. Benedetto degli Olivetani, where, with the Titular Saint and St. Jerome, he has represented the Virgin St. Catherine, together with certain little legendary pieces from her life. The last commentator on Vasari prefers this to many of Mecherino's other works; lamenting that he should

afterwards have been so enamoured of Bonarruoti's energetic style as to have deviated from his original manner. And, to say the truth, from the moment that he aspired at a more vigorous method, he frequently degenerated into coarseness in his proportions, negligence in his hands and feet, and harshness in his heads. This defect increased with his years; insomuch that the heads which he painted in his old age, appeared, even to Vasari, remarkable only for their ugliness.

His style of colouring is not the most correct; betraying a degree of mannerism in the redness of the tints, which is, however, of a cheerful and not unpleasing character: it is, moreover, clear and lucid, and laid on so unsparingly, that even at this day it remains on the plaster in the highest preservation. But few works of his exist at Genoa, where he was employed in the palace of Prince Doria; nor are there many of them at Pisa; but in his native place they abound, both in public and private. He was more successful in water-colours than in oils: but the works which redound most of all to his credit, are his historical pieces in fresco. He was particularly happy in disposing them so as to suit the situation, and in accommodating them to the edifice; and so well did he contrive to embellish them with arabesque ornaments, that his works needed not the aid of gilt stuccos or other gaudy decorations. His pictures evince

such felicity of invention, that, to one at all acquainted with the circumstances, a single glance is sufficient to recall the whole story. There is also great fulness, dignity, and vivacity in the way in which he handles his subjects; always contriving to render them more imposing by the help of perspective, and more attractive by introducing the usages of antiquity. He especially delights to show his skill in those more recondite branches of the art, which at that time were not so generally understood;—such as representing the reflection of the light of a fire, or any other light, —difficult foreshortenings, especially that sort of foreshortening called *di sotto in su*,—matters of which Lower Italy afforded in those days but few examples. Vasari describes at length a figure of Justice painted by him, the feet of which are enveloped in shadow, which becomes gradually less and less deep till it reaches the shoulders, where it finishes in a brilliant and almost celestial light: “nor is it possible,” continues he, “to conceive, much less to point out, a more beautiful figure. . . . amongst all that were ever painted with a view to appear foreshortened when seen from below.” Admitting this remark to be a just one, Mecherino may, as regards this most difficult branch of art, in some sort be styled the Coreggio of Lower Italy; for none of the moderns had attempted so

much before him. The above-mentioned figure he painted on the ceiling of the Sala of the Consistory ; and arranged below it various round and square pictures, each descriptive of some memorable action of a Sieneſe republican. The ſame idea he purſued in an apartment now in the poſſeſſion of the Bindi family, which Della Valle eſteemed his maſter-piece. His figures, like thoſe in the *Loggie* of Raphael, are ſmall, and on that account better deſigned, as well as more ſprightly, and better coloured than thoſe of the Consistory, —Mecherino's ſtyle being, in fact, ſomewhat like a ſpirit, which retains its ſtrength ſo long as it is incloſed in a phial, but which, when poured out into a larger veſſel, evaporates and is loſt. But this was a peculiarity common to him with numberleſs others. What was more extraordinary, was the fact he communicated to Vaſari ; that “out of the atmosphere of Siena he uſed to fancy he could not paint ſo well”—a circumſtance aſcribed, by the P. Guglielmo, to the climate ; which would, indeed, be an excellent noſtrum for peopling it with painters. Perhaps the fact is rather to be attributed to the greater degree of quiet and tranquillity which he enjoyed at home, in the miſt of friends and citizens diſpoſed to ſtimulate him by applauſe, rather than to reſſeſs his efforts by cenſure ; in the miſt, too, of all the ſpectacles and

vivacity of his country—matters which a native of Siena always pines after, but rarely meets with elsewhere.

PERUZZI.

BALDASSARE PERUZZI is one of that numerous class whose merit must not be measured by their success. Born in the lowest state of poverty, in the diocese of Volterra, but within the territory of Siena, and of a Sienese father, he was bred up amidst want, and was through life the constant sport of fortune ;—esteemed inferior to his rivals, only because he was as remarkable for modesty and diffidence, as they were for arrogance and effrontery ; stripped of all the little he possessed at the sack of Rome ; reduced to live on a mere pittance at Siena, Bologna, or Rome ; and dying just as he was beginning to be known—not without suspicion of having been poisoned through envy, and with the additional affliction of leaving a wife and six children little better than in a state of beggary. After the death of this great man, the world learnt to appreciate his genius better than it had done during his life ; and his epitaph, which places him almost on a level with the ancients, has ever been considered as paying a just

tribute to his merits. He is by common consent placed among the first architects of his age; and he would also rank among its greatest painters, had he displayed as much merit in colouring as he did in design, and had he been uniformly equal to himself—a point which he could not always accomplish during a life so checkered and wretched.

After Peruzzi had been initiated in the rudiments of art in his native place—though by what master is not known—he went to Rome, as early as the time of Alexander VI., for the purpose of completing his studies. He became acquainted with Raphael,—whose pupil he was, as some will have it,—and whom he both admired and imitated, especially in certain of his Holy Families. He also closely imitated him in some of his fresco paintings;—such as the Judgment of Paris, in the town of Belcaro, which passes for his best performance; and the celebrated Sibyl fortelling the birth of Christ to Augustus,—a fresco executed at Fonte Giusta of Siena, and universally esteemed as one of the most exquisite paintings in that city. This figure he invested with such an air of inspiration, that even Raphael himself, when treating similar subjects, can perhaps hardly be said to have surpassed him; and yet less can Guido or Guercino, of whom so many Sibyls are still pointed out. In pictures of a larger size, such as the Presentation in the church della Pace at Rome,

he evinces skill in composition, gives a faithful delineation of the passions, and embellishes the subject with appropriate architecture. His oil paintings are very scarce: those representing the Magi, which I have met with in various collections at Florence, Parma, and Bologna, are copied from a chiaroscuro of his, which, as we are informed by Vasari, was afterwards coloured by Girolamo da Trevigi. His altar-pieces, in oils, are also extremely scarce; nor can I with certainty point out any of them, save one consisting of three half-length figures—the Virgin, placed between the Baptist and St. Jerome—at Torre Babbiana, eighteen miles from Siena.

What I have already adduced would be more than sufficient to establish the fame of any other painter; and yet all this is far from constituting the whole of Peruzzi's merit. This great man did not confine himself to the production of excellent cabinet pictures and frescos. He was, as I have already observed, an architect; or, to use the words of Lomazzo, an universal architect; and in this profession, of which he made himself master by his unwearied study of ancient architecture, he holds the foremost rank; insomuch that he has even been considered superior to Bramante himself.

SIENESE SCHOOL.

EPOCH III.

THE ART, WHICH AMIDST THE PUBLIC CALAMITIES HAD DECLINED AT SIENA, IS RESTORED BY MEANS OF SALIMBENI AND HIS SONS.

WE have already noticed the progressive advancement, and the more distinguished productions of the Sienese school, from the commencement down to nearly the middle of the sixteenth century ; we have not, however, as yet taken into consideration a certain circumstance which adds incalculably to the merit both of the artists and the works of that period. If we go back to the history of that half century, we shall find every one of the states of Italy groaning under the disasters which befel it ; but no state shall we find undergoing so many bitter calamities at the same time—and that time, too, of such long continuance—as Siena. Famine, pestilence, suspension of commercial intercourse, though they afflicted other states as well, seem here to have raged with double fury : domestic commotion and foreign war, though they shook other republics to their centre, did not, for a long

series of years, leave one single hour's tranquillity to this. The Sienese republic, though great, if we consider only the valour of its citizens, was small in every other point of view: hence it resembled those gulfs, where tempests are both more frequent and more violent than in the open sea. The tyranny of the Petrucci, the dissensions that prevailed between the nobles and the lower orders, the jealousy entertained of foreign powers, who aimed at its subjugation, served to keep Siena in a state of continual excitement, and often rendered it the theatre of bloody conflicts; and the remedy which they sought for these evils, in the protection, sometimes of the Imperialists, sometimes of the French, only tended to augment the turbulence within, and to aggravate the aggression from without. During a period of such incessant agitation, I know not which to admire most—the taste of the citizens, thus intent on all occasions to promote the decoration of their private dwellings and their country—or the courage of the artists themselves, in thus pursuing their labours with such irrepressible ardour: this, however, I know, that few such examples are to be found in the annals of other countries. At length, in the year 1555, Cosmo I. stripped the Sienese of the liberty they had so long boasted. They would have yielded it with less bitter regret to any other state than that of Florence; whence it

is not much to be wondered at, if, at such a time, two-thirds of its citizens forsook their native land, refusing to become the subjects of an enemy whom they held in such abhorrence.

At length, however, Siena began by degrees to recover from its disasters, and to become reconciled to the new government, which the politic Cosmo endeavoured to make appear not so much a new system, as a reformation of the old; nor was it long before the void occasioned by those artists who had abandoned their native country was supplied by others.

ARCANGIOLO SALIMBENI.

BALDINUCCI expressly calls Salimbeni a “disciple of Federigo Zuccherò.” What the biographer proceeds to say may perhaps be correct, namely, that during his stay at Rome he became an intimate acquaintance and friend of that master’s; but his style betrays principles wholly different from those of Zuccherò; and notwithstanding the most diligent search, not a single painting of his has ever been discovered which would lead us to refer him to that school. He affects precision

rather than fulness and softness of design; inso-much, that we may discern in him some predilection for Pietro Perugino's style; as Della Valle observes with regard to a Crucifixion of his between six saints, at the parish church of Lusignano. In other pieces of his, still to be seen at Siena, as his St. Peter the Martyr, in the possession of the Dominicans, his style appears strictly modern, but accompanied with a due degree of finish, and an exemption from those faults, of which Zuccherò, the very type of mannerism in his day, is often guilty. And, truly, it was well for the Sienese school, that it produced this artist; who, if he was not blessed with any great genius, had, at any rate, judgment enough to shun the corrupt methods of the time. Hence, amidst the contagious examples of the neighbouring schools, this of Siena either remained uninfected, or, at least, sustained but little injury; and the new disciples which it produced conspired to bring about a reformation of the art in Italy.

CASOLANI.

ALESSANDRO CASOLANI derived his surname from Casole, a small town in which his family resided

before they came to Siena. Though the scholar of Arcangelo Salimbeni, he was more indebted for his acquirements to the instructions he received from Roncalli at Siena and Rome. In this latter city he abode a considerable time, designing the best works it contained, and making himself familiar with a variety of different styles. He added not a little to his attainments in a tour which he made some years afterwards to Padua, where he painted at the Certosa and various other places. His style is exceedingly diversified. In it we discover vestiges of Roncalli's happiest manner,—his chaste design, his sober composition, his subdued colouring, and placid harmony. He seems, however, to have aspired at something original; for he was continually changing his style, blending it with the manner of this or that particular artist, and sometimes treading an unbeaten path. He was blessed both with quickness of invention and rapidity of execution; readily transferring his ideas to the canvass, and, whenever he was dissatisfied with them, choosing rather to efface the whole work than take the trouble to correct it in a few of its parts. Guido, who, among the moderns, may be considered as the father of the *beau ideal*, could not help admiring him, (notwithstanding his deficiency in that respect,) and bestowing on him the following panegyric:—
“This man is in the truest sense a painter,”—

Costui è veramente pittore. Whoever is desirous of proving the justness of this panegyric, should examine his best performance, the Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, at the Carmine of Siena. This picture is on a large scale, exhibiting great variety both as to the figures which it contains, and the passions which it expresses, as well as the most admirable unity. It is said that Roncalli, on contemplating it, was so highly pleased with it, as to affirm that, in those days, the art of painting had wholly centered in Casolani. But Casolani, after having attained this high degree of excellence, lived but a short time, and thus failed to realize the high expectations that had been formed of him.

VENTURA SALIMBENI.

THE Cav. Ventura, the son of Salimbeni, passes for the third best scholar of that master; though, in truth, he could have received but few lessons from his father. Ventura quitted his home at a very early age, and, wandering through the different cities of Lombardy, studied the works of Coreggio and other Lombard masters, whose

style was then beginning to grow into repute in Tuscany. He next repaired to Rome, and during the pontificate of Sixtus V. contrived to raise great expectations of his future eminence, which, having afterwards given himself up to pleasure, he never realized. He left behind him various frescos, which have been commended by Baglione; among which, the Abraham entertaining the Angels, in one of the churches of the Jesuits, seems most like the work of a consummate master. We there discern a certain sprightliness and gracefulness in the colouring and countenances, which he ever afterwards retained; we discern, too, a studiousness of design and chiaroscuro, which he afterwards but too frequently neglected. He sometimes wrought in company with Vanni; and, though the latter was eight years younger than himself, not improbably derived some benefit from him. Certain it is, that in many of his works he resembles him in his imitation of Barrocci's style; while he scarcely yields to him in gracefulness of contour, expression, or softness and lucidness of colouring. His performances in the churches of S. Quirico and S. Domenico are much admired: in the former is the Angel appearing at the Sepulchre of Christ; in the latter, a Crucifixion, with various Saints, which differ from most of his other works, of which there are some of great merit in other places at Siena,

especially where he was stimulated by the proximity of the more distinguished masters of his native school. He also produced some beautiful historical pieces at Florence, in the cloisters of the Servi, where he wrought in competition with Poccetti; and in the cathedral of Pisa, where he had to contend with several eminent artists. The Espousals of the Virgin, in the cathedral of Foligno; the St. Gregory, in St. Peter's, at Perugia; other works at Lucca, Pavia, and in different cities of Italy, sufficiently corroborate Baglione's statement, that he was never for continuing long in one place. At Genoa, however, his stay was more protracted. The beautiful chamber in the Casa Adorno, together with certain other works which he executed there, are still in existence, though some others of his have perished.

V A N N I.

FRANCESCO VANNI is, in the opinion of many, the best painter of the Sienese school; and even in Italy itself is reckoned among the restorers of painting during the sixteenth century. It seems

before they came to Siena. Though the scholar of Arcangelo Salimbeni, he was more indebted for his acquirements to the instructions he received from Roncalli at Siena and Rome. In this latter city he abode a considerable time, designing the best works it contained, and making himself familiar with a variety of different styles. He added not a little to his attainments in a tour which he made some years afterwards to Padua, where he painted at the Certosa and various other places. His style is exceedingly diversified. In it we discover vestiges of Roncalli's happiest manner,—his chaste design, his sober composition, his subdued colouring, and placid harmony. He seems, however, to have aspired at something original; for he was continually changing his style, blending it with the manner of this or that particular artist, and sometimes treading an unbeaten path. He was blessed both with quickness of invention and rapidity of execution; readily transferring his ideas to the canvass, and, whenever he was dissatisfied with them, choosing rather to efface the whole work than take the trouble to correct it in a few of its parts. Guido, who, among the moderns, may be considered as the father of the *beau ideal*, could not help admiring him, (notwithstanding his deficiency in that respect,) and bestowing on him the following panegyric:—
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Like that of other painters of his time, Pietro's style is somewhat hard and dry : sometimes, too, he appears rather niggardly in the drapery of his figures ; so short and straightened are his vests and mantles. But for these defects he atones by the comeliness of his heads, especially those of boys and women, in which he surpassed all his contemporaries, ' by the gracefulness of his attitudes, and the beauty of his colouring. Those azure grounds, which contribute so much to the relief of his pictures,—those tints of a greenish, red, or violet hue, which he so well contrives to blend with each other,—those landscapes where the foreground and distance harmonize so happily together ; " the method of painting which was," as Vasari informs us, " till then unknown at Florence,"—those edifices so well constructed and so judiciously disposed—are even now regarded with delight in the pictures and frescos of his that still exist at Perugia and Rome. In his altar-pieces he displays no great variety. One of the most singular is at Perugia ; it is a picture of Christ's Brethren, executed for the church of San Simone, and may be considered as one of the earliest specimens of a well designed and well composed altar-piece. Generally, however, Perugino did not aim much at novelty of invention : his Crucifixions, and Descents from the Cross, are numerous and very much resemble each other.

In like manner, in his Ascensions of our Saviour, and Assumptions of the Virgin, to be seen at Bologna, Florence, Perugia, and Città di San Sepolcro, he has always repeated, with but little variation, the same composition. It is notorious that he was reproached with this even during his lifetime, and that he defended himself by saying that he did not steal from any one. Another defence might be set up; and it is this—that the truly beautiful will be regarded with pleasure even when repeated in different places; nor would any one who happens to have seen, at the Sistine Chapel, his St. Peter invested with the keys, be displeased on finding at Perugia a picture of the Nuptials of the Virgin containing a similar perspective: on the contrary, this picture is one of the most attractive objects that noble city affords,—a sort of compendium of the various works of Perugino existing in different places. His frescos display greater fertility of invention, and, as some think, greater softness and harmony of colouring. Of these, his master-piece is in his native city, in the Sala del Cambio; where he represented certain historical facts of the New, and certain Saints of the Old Testament, adding his own portrait, under which his grateful fellow-citizens inscribed an elegant panegyric. He evinces most merit, and, as it were, a sort of approximation to Raphael's style, in certain works, the fruits, as I suspect, of

his latter years; in which kind I saw a Holy Family of his at the Carmine of Perugia. The same may be observed of certain small pictures of his of the miniature class; as in the *grado* di San Pietro, at Perugia, than which perhaps he never produced any thing more beautiful or more exquisitely finished; as well as in a variety of others that evince the utmost diligence of execution,—though these are still but few compared with the number executed by his scholars, and pointed out as his.

On this head we may refer to what Taia, and after him the author of the *Lettere Perugine*, observes with regard to Perugino's scholars; that they “adhered most scrupulously to their master's manner;” and that these scholars, being very numerous, have filled the world with pictures, which both painters and amateurs generally ascribe to Perugino himself. On observing his works at Perugia, travellers are generally led to entertain a higher opinion of his merit; many of them, perhaps, having before only met with works falsely attributed to him. Thus, at Florence, there are some genuine pieces of his in the possession of the Grand Duke, a beautiful Descent from the Cross, in the church of S. Chiara, and perhaps one or two other pictures; but in private houses, both there and in other cities of Tuscany, many Holy Families pass for his, which ought rather to

be ascribed to Gerino da Pistoia, or some other of his Tuscan scholars.

There were also in the Papal states a considerable number of his scholars, and those, too, of greater reputation, and some of them less tenacious than foreigners of their master's style. *Bernardino Pinturicchio*, the scholar, and even the coadjutor of Pietro, both at Perugia and Rome, was a painter undervalued by Vasari, who denied him his due share of praise. His design differs from that of his master, and his draperies betray a more profuse use of gold than was consistent with the times in which he lived: his edifices, however, are magnificent, his countenances remarkable for vivacity, and all his compositions for the air of nature that pervades them. Having been on the most friendly terms with Raphael, in company with whom he painted at Siena, he has in some of his works emulated the graceful style of that artist; as in the picture of S. Lorenzo in the possession of the Franciscans of Spello, where there is a small figure of the Baptist, by some thought to be the work of Raphael himself. He had great merit in arabesques and perspectives; in which latter branch of art he was the first to introduce views of cities among the ornaments of fresco paintings; as he did in an apartment of the Vatican, where, amidst certain landscapes, he introduced views of the principal cities of Italy. In many of his histo-

rical works he retained the old custom of forming part of the decorations of stucco,—as in the representation of arches for instance,—a custom which lasted in the Milanese school till the time of Gaudenzio. Rome possesses various pictures of his, especially in the Vatican and at the church of Araceli: the cathedral of Spello, however, contains a better work than any of these; but his best performance of all is in that magnificent sacristy at Siena, which we have already had occasion to notice. The work consists of ten historical pieces, representing the most memorable circumstances of the life of Pius II.; and on the outside is an eleventh, descriptive of the Coronation of Pius III., by whom the work was ordered.

ROMAN SCHOOL.

EPOCH II.

RAPHAEL AND HIS SCHOLARS.

WE are now arrived at the happiest era, not only of the Roman school, but of modern painting in general. We have already seen Da Vinci and Bonarruoti carrying the art to the highest pitch of excellence about the beginning of the sixteenth century; and it is notorious that, about the same

period, not only Raphael, but Coreggio, Giorgione, Titian, and the best Venetian painters, also began their career : so that a man needed not to have had his life prolonged beyond the ordinary span, to have been acquainted with them all. Thus did painting, in the space of but a few years, reach a degree of excellence which it had never attained before, and has never attained since, save when it has endeavoured to imitate these great masters, or to combine in one work the various merits scattered through theirs. Indeed, it would seem an invariable law of that Providence which overrules us, that in every science, some few individuals of transcendent genius should start up and develop their powers at the same period, or at short intervals from each other. Through the efforts of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, one single age was sufficient to bring tragedy to perfection ; by means of Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eumolpides, one age sufficed to perfect the ancient comedy ; and the new, in like manner, by means of Menander, Diphilus, and Philemon. No philosopher of any great note arose after the days of Plato and Aristotle ; and whoever was acquainted with Isocrates and his school, was acquainted with the highest order of Grecian eloquence. The same remark applies to the languages of other countries. The more distinguished Latin authors sprang up together about the

time of Augustus: and the Augustus of modern Italy was Leo X.; of France, Louis XIV.; of England, Charles II.

It is the same in the case of the fine arts, as Velleius Paterculus long ago observed: though of this union of men of genius in the same age, he acknowledged that he could not, after the most diligent investigation, ever discover the real cause: —“*causas, quàm semper requiro, nunquam invenio quas veras confidam.*” At the same time, he thinks it probable, that when a man finds the first rank in art already occupied by another, looking on it as a post seized upon, he no longer aspires to it, but becomes disheartened, and withdraws from the contest. But this solution is, if I mistake not, unsatisfactory. It may, indeed, furnish us with a reason why no second Michael Angelo, no second Raphael, has ever appeared; but it affords no satisfactory reason why these two, and the others already mentioned, should all have chanced to meet together in the same age. For my part, I am of opinion that the taste of any given period is always influenced by certain principles universally adopted both by professors of the art and amateurs; which principles happening also at a particular period to be the truest and most just, produce in that age a few first-rate masters, and a great number of respectable ones. In process of time, (such is the instability of all sub-

lunary things,) these principles naturally undergo a change; and forthwith the age partakes of that change. I may add, moreover, that these auspicious periods never occur, unless there happen to be a number of princes and private individuals who emulate each other in their admiration and encouragement of works of taste: for hence vast numbers are induced to devote themselves to such pursuits, and amidst these there always start up some men of genius who give a tone to art. The history of Athenian sculpture (and Athens was a city where magnificence and taste went hand in hand) favours my opinion; and it is further confirmed by the history of this golden age of Italian art. Nevertheless, the question may, for me, remain undetermined, and await its decision from a more competent tribunal.

But though it may be no easy task to assign the reason why so many eminent artists should have sprung up at one particular period, yet we may hope to account for the excellence attained to by a single individual; and I could wish to do so of Raphael. It would seem as though nature and fortune had conspired to exalt him; the former endowing him with her choicest gifts, the latter aiding their operation by a singular combination of propitious circumstances. To understand this the better, we must take a compendious view of his life, and observe the gradual progress of his

mind. He was born at Urbino in 1483. The father of this celebrated man was one Giovanni di Santi, or, as he was afterwards more commonly called, Giovanni Sanzio, a painter of very moderate talents, and one from whom Raphael could have learned but little,—although it is not a little to have been initiated in a simple style, not yet debased by mannerism. The works of Fra Carnivale, who for those times possessed considerable merit, were of greater service to him. Being sent to Perugia and placed under the care of Perugino, he, as Vasari observes, very soon became master of Pietro's style: though even then he had evidently formed the design of improving upon it. In Città di Castello, I was informed that the picture of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, at the Eremitani, was painted by him at the early age of seventeen. The style was that of Perugino; but the composition differed from that of the age, which usually consisted of the Virgin seated on a throne, with various Saints standing stiff and erect around it. There, on the contrary, he depicted the beatified Saint, whose brows the Virgin and St. Augustine (themselves partly concealed by a cloud) are represented encircling with a crown: two angels are seen on the right, and two others on the left hand; lovely objects, and in different attitudes, holding papers variously folded, on which are inscribed certain words in praise of the holy anchorite:

above is a majestic figure of the Eternal Father, surrounded by a company of Angels. The different figures appear as though they were in a temple, the pilasters of which are ornamented in the minute and laboured style of Mantegna, while in the folding of the drapery the old manner is still in part retained, and in part corrected: so also in the Devil who is trodden under foot by the Saint, that whimsical deformity with which the old painters represented him is avoided; and he displays the features of a genuine Ethiopian. To this picture he added another, executed about the same time for the church of St. Dominic—a Crucifixion, with two attendant angels—of whom one receives in a cup the precious blood which flows from the right hand; the other, in two cups, collects that of the left hand and side: the Virgin Mother and the beloved Disciple stand by weeping; while the Magdalene and another Saint contemplate the awful mystery on their knees: above all is the Eternal Father. All these figures bear so strong a resemblance to the best of Perugino's, that they might easily pass for his; save that of the Virgin, the beauty of which I would not affirm that he ever equalled, except perhaps in the latter part of his life. Another specimen of this period is noticed by the Abate Morcelli. (*De Stylo Inscript. Latin.* p. 476.) He states that he saw in the possession of Sig. Annibale Maggiori, a nobleman of

Fermo, a Madonna in the act of lifting from off the body of the Infant Jesus, as he lay asleep in the cradle, a veil of the most delicate texture; while close at hand, feasting his eyes on the charming spectacle, stood St. Joseph, on whose staff the same writer detected the following inscription in extremely minute characters,—R : S : V : A : A : XVII : P :—Raphael Sanctius Urbinas an : ætatis XVII pinxit. This was probably his first attempt to embody that idea which he improved upon at a more advanced age, in a picture now in the treasury of Loreto; where the Infant Jesus is represented, not in the act of sleeping, but of raising his hands towards the Virgin in the most winning manner. Of the same period also, I take to be those small round pictures (*tondini*) which I shall notice in the course of a few pages, when referring to the Madonna della Seggiola.

Vasari affirms that, previous to his executing these two pictures, he had already painted at Perugia the Assumption, in the possession of the Conventuali, with three small subjects from the life of the Virgin on the *grado*; an assertion which, considering the greater perfection of the work, may well be called in question. This picture displays all the higher merits of Vannucci's style; but the varied feelings evinced by the holy apostles on finding the sepulchre empty, were beyond that artist's powers. Still more, according to Vasari,

did Raphael surpass him in the third picture painted for Città di Castello,—the Nuptials of the Virgin, in the church of St. Francis. The composition bears a strong resemblance to that adopted by his master in a picture on the same subject at Perugia; yet there is so much more of the modern manner in it, that it may be called the first fruits of a newer style. The bride and bridegroom have a degree of beauty which Raphael scarcely surpassed in any of his heads even in his riper years. The Virgin more especially is a model of angelic beauty. A company of lovely virgins, arrayed in bridal garments, attend her; splendour and elegance appear to vie with each other,—gay decorations,—veils variously arranged,—and a union of ancient and modern costume, which in those days was not considered as a fault. Amidst all the lovely forms that surround her, the Virgin appears triumphant; and that, not from the adventitious ornaments of art, but from her own native charms. Dignity, beauty, modesty, and grace, all conspire to ravish the spectator at the first view, and force him to exclaim—How amiable the mind that animates that form! how divine the being that resides within! The retinue of men that attend St. Joseph are equally well chosen and well conceived. In this group we should look in vain for that scantiness of drapery, that dryness and mannerism, and that affectation of beauty, which, in Pietro's

works, sometimes degenerates into the insipid ; all, indeed, is executed with care, yet a vivifying spirit pervades every gesture and every countenance. In the landscape, too, the trees are not those slender, meagre objects which we meet with in the landscapes of Pietro ; but are copied from nature, and finished with care. In the upper part of the picture is a small round temple surrounded by a colonnade, and, as Vasari observes, “ so carefully executed, that it is wonderful to see what difficulties he appeared to court.” In the distance are some beautiful groups, among which is the figure of a beggar imploring charity, depicted to the life ; and a little nearer, that of a youth, who with an air of vexation snaps asunder an unbudded rod,—a figure which proves him to have been already master of the then novel art of foreshortening. I have described these his first performances more fully than any other writer, that the reader may be enabled to appreciate his extraordinary talents. In the labours of his maturer years, other artists, whose works he had studied, may claim a share ; but in these his earlier efforts he was supported solely by the vigour of his own innate powers. His disposition, which was as noble and elevated as it was amiable and affectionate, instinctively led him to that ideal beauty, that gracefulness, and truth of expression, which constitutes the most philosophical and the most diffi-

cult province of painting. To attain to excellence in this branch of it, neither study nor art is sufficient. A natural taste for the selection of the beautiful,—a faculty of mind capable of culling the separate excellences of many individual objects, and combining them in one perfect whole, a quickness and even fervour of fancy, to conceive the various expressions of sudden and momentary passion,—a facility of touch, obedient to the conceptions of the imagination ;—these were powers with which nature alone could endow him, and these, as we have seen, he possessed from his earliest years. Whoever may have attributed Raphael's success to intensity of study rather than felicity of genius, could have had no just notion of the gifts which Heaven had showered down upon him.

Become already the object of admiration both with his master and his fellow-students, it was now that Pinturicchio, after having painted with so much applause at Rome, before Raphael was born, aspired to become in some sort his pupil, in the great work at Siena. Pinturicchio did not possess a genius vast enough for the noble style of composition which the place demanded ; nor had Perugino himself fertility of invention or elevation of fancy equal to so novel an undertaking. The object of the work was, to represent the more memorable actions of *Æneas Silvius Piccolomini*, who afterwards became Pope Pius II.—the em-

bassies with which he was entrusted by the Council of Constance to various princes; and by Felix, the anti-pope, to Frederic III., who honoured him with the poet's laurel crown—and, in like manner, the embassies which he undertook for Frederic himself, first to Eugenius IV., and afterwards to Calixtus IV., who created him Cardinal. Next were to be represented—his exaltation to the Papacy, and the most remarkable events of his reign—the canonization of St. Catherine—his attendance at the Council of Mantua, where the Duke received him with princely pomp—and lastly, his death, and the removal of his body from Ancona to Rome. When had an undertaking of such magnitude as this ever been committed to a single artist? Painting had hitherto attempted but little. In the works of this period, (as in those of Pietro's at Perugia,) the larger figures usually stood detached, without any attempt to give them the interest of an historic scene. In historical pieces the figures were usually less than life, and, for the most part, painters confined themselves to subjects taken from the New Testament, where the very frequency of repetition had paved the way for plagiarism. Historical subjects, like those in question, were new to Raphael; and to one like him, unused to Capitals, it must have been a matter of no small difficulty to have invented no less than eleven such pieces; to have represented the luxu-

rious manners of so many courts, and, in some sort, the magnificence of all Europe; varying the composition according to the occasion. Nevertheless, being conducted by his friend to Siena, he prepared *the sketches and cartoons of all these subjects*; so says Vasari in his life of Pinturicchio; and that the sketches were *all* of them actually prepared by him, is still the received opinion at Siena. In his life of Raphael, Vasari states that he prepared "*some of the designs and cartoons for this work,*" and that the reason of his discontinuing them was, his haste to proceed to Florence to see the cartoons of Da Vinci and Bonarruoti. But I am more disposed to credit the first statement of Vasari than the second. From the will of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, it is evident that the work was carrying on in the library in April 1503.* "The library was as yet scarcely finished," when Piccolomini was elected Pope on the twenty-first of September; and his coronation following on the eighth of October, Pinturicchio commemorated the event on the outside of the library, on the corresponding part of the cathedral. (Vasari.) Bottari remarks, that in this façade "we may detect not only the design, but, in many of the heads, even the colouring of Raphael." It would seem, therefore, that he re-

* See Preface to the Life of Raphael, by Vasari, Ediz. Senese, p. 228, where the will is quoted.

mained till the completion of the last story, which may have been finished in the following year, 1504, in which he set out for Florence. Meanwhile it is fit we should observe, that this work, which remains in such a state of preservation that it might almost be supposed of recent date, does great credit to an artist only twenty years of age; there being, in the transition from the old to the modern style, no work of equal magnitude and variety conceived by any single painter. And even admitting that Raphael was not unassisted in this work, still the better part of it cannot but be ascribed to him; inasmuch as Pinturicchio himself made visible progress at this period; for the works which he afterwards executed at Spello and Siena itself, display more of the modern manner than all that he had produced before. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that Raphael had already, even at that early age, made large strides towards a better style than that of his master; displaying greater fulness of contour, greater richness and freedom of composition; together with a taste for ornament which serves to transform the little into the great, and an ability, not confined to this or that particular branch of the profession, but equal to any subject within the whole compass of art.

What he saw at Florence did not divert him from his course. Raphael had already formed his system; and now only sought examples to multi-

ply his ideas with regard to that system, and facilitate its execution. He studied the works of Masaccio, an elegant and expressive painter; and even availed himself of his two figures of Adam and Eve in the works which he afterwards executed at the Vatican. He also contracted an intimacy with Fra Bartolommeo della Porta, who about that time had resumed his studies in the art; and whom he instructed in the principles of perspective, while, in return, he acquired from him a better method of colouring. History is silent as to whether he became acquainted with Da Vinci; and that portrait in the Ducal Gallery at Florence, which is said to be a portrait of Raphael by Leonardo, is a head of some unknown individual. Still I cannot but think, that the mere congeniality of temper of these two amiable and generous men, both of them studious of all that was exquisite in art, must at least have led to an acquaintance, if not to a mutual attachment. At any rate, there was at that time no one more capable than Da Vinci of imparting to him a certain finish and refinement which he could not have derived from Pietro; no one better able to initiate him in the delicacies and niceties of art. As to Michael Angelo, his pictures were more rare, and less adapted to the genius of Raphael: his great cartoon was not yet finished in 1504; and its author was jealous of its being seen before its completion. He

finished it a year or two afterwards, when, dreading the vengeance of Julius II., he fled from Rome and returned to Florence. Raphael, therefore, could not then have had an opportunity of studying it; nor, indeed, did he at that time remain long at Florence, for, according to Vasari, he was obliged to return to his native place, in consequence of the death of his parents. In 1505, we find him at Perugia; and to this year must be referred the works in the chapel of San Severo, and the Crucifixion, which was severed from the wall, and is now in the possession of the Padri Camaldolensi. From these paintings, which are all of them in fresco, we may ascertain the taste which he acquired at Florence. I think I may safely say it was not the anatomical; no traces of it being visible in the figure of the Redeemer, where he had so good an opportunity of displaying it. Nor was it a taste for the beautiful, for of that he had already exhibited the most admirable specimens; nor a greater truth of expression, inasmuch as Florence could show him no examples of heads possessing greater spirit, animation, and grace, than those he was already capable of producing. In the art of colouring with softness, as well as of grouping and foreshortening his figures in a more skilful manner, he appears to have made considerable progress after his visit to Florence; whether it was that he owed this improvement to

the examples either of Da Vinci or Bonarruoti, or both of them together, or even to painters of an older date. He repaired to Florence a second time, and, after a short stay, quitted it again in order to paint in the church of St. Francis at Perugia, the picture representing the placing of the Body of Christ in the Sepulchre, the cartoon for which he had prepared at Florence. This picture, which was at first placed in the church of St. Francis, was afterwards, in the pontificate of Paul V., removed to Rome, and is now in the Borghese palace. He returned again to Florence for the third and last time, and continued there till his departure for Rome, that is, till the year 1508. During the four years that intervened between Raphael's first visit to Florence and his final departure from it, were executed those works which are usually included under his second style, though it is a hazardous task to attempt to define them. Vasari referred to this period the Holy Family in the Rinuccini gallery, and yet it bears the date of 1516. The picture of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus and St. John, and a beautiful landscape, in the Tribune of the Florentine gallery, is unquestionably of this second style; as well as certain others in the possession of foreigners. The style of composition in most of his pictures executed at this period, is that of a Madonna surrounded by various saints, like the pic-

ture at the Pitti palace, which was formerly at Pescia; and that of S. Fiorenzo at Perugia, which has passed over into England. We find, however, even in the works of this period, a gracefulness of attitude, an expressiveness of countenance, and other little niceties of composition, which exempt them from the hard dry manner of the times. The dead Christ, already noticed, is in a newer and better style. Vasari calls it a most divine picture: the figures are not numerous, but each admirably performs the part assigned to it; the manner in which they discharge the sad duty imposed upon them is the most affecting; the heads, too, are most beautiful—indeed, among the first to be found, after the revival of art, whose beauty is unimpaired by depth of sorrow and intensity of grief. After he had finished this work, Raphael aspired to paint an apartment at Florence; one, I believe, at the Palazzo Pubblico. There still exists a letter of his, bearing the date of 1508, in which he requests the Duke of Urbino to write to the Gonfalonier Soderini on the subject. But a far better fate awaited him at Rome, owing to the exertions of his relative Bramante; who recommended him to Julius II. for the proposed paintings at the Vatican. Thither therefore he went, and there he had already firmly established himself in the September of the same year.

Thus, then, we find him fixed at Rome and in the Vatican, at a period and under circumstances calculated to render him the first painter in the world. The study to which, above all others, he devoted himself at Rome, was that of the remains of Grecian art, which gave the last finish to his acquirements. He studied the remains of ancient architecture, and, under the tuition of Bramante, which he enjoyed for six years, became so thoroughly versed in the theory of that science, that, on the death of his uncle, he was judged worthy to succeed him in superintending the building of St. Peter's. He also studied the remains of ancient sculpture, and from them derived not only the contour, the drapery, and attitudes of his figures, but the very spirit and fundamental principles of art. Not content with what still existed in Rome, he employed artists to copy the remains of antiquity at Puzzuoli, as well as throughout the whole of Italy, and even in Greece itself. Nor did he manage to derive less assistance from the living, whom he was wont to consult on the keeping of his compositions. The universal esteem in which he was held, his attractive person and engaging manners, which all accounts agree in describing as unparalleled, conspired to gain him the friendship of the most eminent literary characters of his day. Bembo, Castiglione, Giovio, Novagero, Ariosto, Fulvio,

Calcagnini, were proud to call themselves his friends; and, as we may reasonably conclude, all of them supplied him with hints and ideas for his various works.

Nor did his rivals, Michael Angelo and his adherents, contribute a little to his success. As the rivalry that subsisted between Zeuxis and Parrhasius proved beneficial to them both, so did the rivalry between Michael Angelo and Raphael turn to the advantage, not only of the former, as the paintings in the Sistine Chapel plainly prove, but of the latter also, as is no less clearly evinced by the paintings in the Camere of Raphael, and many others. Michael Angelo, "disdaining the honours of the second place"—*non ben contento de' secondi onori*,—issued forth to the combat, attended, as it were, by an armour-bearer; for when he, with his usual felicity, had prepared designs, he handed them over to Fra Sebastiano, the scholar of Giorgione, to be coloured; indulging the hope that Raphael's pictures would thus always appear inferior to his own, as well in colour as design. Raphael stood alone; and aimed at producing works which should possess all those attractions that were wanting in the performances of Michael Angelo and Fra Sebastiano—new and pleasing imagery—ideal beauty—a close imitation of the Grecian style of design—the charms of elegance and grace—in a word, every

excellence comprised within the compass of the art. This noble endeavour to come off triumphant in so arduous a contest, occupied his thoughts night and day ; never permitting him to pause in his career, but constantly urging him on to surpass both his rivals and himself in every fresh work that he produced. The very subjects proposed to him for the embellishment of these celebrated chambers, tended to promote his object ; being, in great measure, either such as were new in themselves, or such as required treating in a novel manner. He had to portray, not a troop of bacchanals, or matters of a prosaic and uninteresting character ; but the mysteries of the abstruser sciences ; the more august ceremonies of our religion ; military achievements, which diffused throughout the world the blessings of peace and Christianity ; past events, which shadowed forth the glory of two of our greatest pontiffs, Julius II. and Leo X.—the latter of them the most liberal patron, as well as the most acute judge of art, the world ever saw. Circumstances more favourable than these could hardly have arisen to stimulate a noble mind in the pursuit of the sublime.

Vasari informs us that Raphael, immediately on his arrival in Rome, was employed to paint one of the chambers of the Vatican, called at the time the *Chamber della Segnatura*, and afterwards,

from the subjects of the pictures, that *delle Scienze*. On the ceiling are represented Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence. Each of them has on the corresponding side of the room a grand historical piece allusive to its character. On the lower part of the wall are other historical compositions, which refer to the same sciences; and these lesser works, as well as the *Caryatids* and *Telamons* distributed around, are monochromatic or chiaroscuros; all of them designed by Raphael, but executed, as it is said, by Polidoro da Caravaggio. Raphael began with the Theology; imitating Petrarch, who, in a sort of feigned vision, had assembled together men of the same pursuits, though they had lived at different periods. He there depicted the Evangelists, whose writings form the foundation of Theology; the Doctors of the church, who have preserved its traditions; the Theologians, St. Thomas, S. Bonaventura, Scotus, and others who have illustrated it by their arguments: higher up is the Trinity, surrounded by the elect, and, on an altar underneath the Trinity, the Eucharist; as if to indicate the mysterious nature of that doctrine. The work betrays some vestiges of the old manner: thus, gold is used in the glories of the Saints, and in other ornamental parts; the *glory* in the upper part of the picture is formed on the plan of that at S. Severo, already noticed; the composition

has more symmetry and less freedom than that of the other pieces ; and, compared with the others, the whole betrays more littleness of manner. Nevertheless, when examined in detail, this picture evinces such admirable diligence of execution, that some have even gone so far as to prefer it to all the rest. It has moreover been remarked, that Raphael began on the right-hand of the picture, and that by the time he had arrived at the left, he was already a greater painter. This work must have been finished about the year 1508, and so excited the astonishment of the Pope, that he caused all that had been executed by Bramantino, Pier della Francesca, Signorelli, L'Abate di Arezzo, and Sodoma, (except that the arabesque ornaments of the latter were permitted to remain,) to be effaced, in order that the whole of the historical part might be by the hand of Raphael.

In Raphael's subsequent works, and, indeed, in all that he executed after the year 1509, we must no longer talk of any vestiges of the old style : Raphael had discovered a nobler manner, and thenceforth only sought to carry it to perfection. He had now, on the opposite side, to represent Philosophy : here, therefore, he depicted a Gymnasium in the form of a temple, placing the more distinguished of the ancient philosophers, some within the edifice itself, some on the flight of steps, and others in a lower plane. His favourite Pe-

trarch, and the third chapter "della Fama," afforded him more assistance in this than in any of his other works. Plato, "che in quella schiera andò più presso al segno," is there represented with Aristotle "pien d'ingegno" in the act of disputation; and these two occupy, even in this composition, the post of honour. Here we have Socrates instructing Alcibiades; here, too, we have Pythagoras, beside whom is seen a youth holding up a tablet, on which is represented the theory of harmonic chords; and here also we have Zoroaster, the King of Bactria, with the globe in his hand. Here, too, may you behold Diogenes stretched on the ground with his tub beside him, and in a state approaching to nudity, "assai più che non vuol vergogna aperto;" and here you see "Archimede star col capo basso," represented turning the compasses on a table, and instructing youth in geometry; together with divers others, absorbed in thought or engaged in disputation, whose names we might, perhaps, with due attention, make out better than Vasari has done. To this picture has been given the name of the *School of Athens*, which, in my judgment, is about as appropriate as the name of the *Mass* or the *Sacrament*, applied to the first picture. The third picture, which is that of the *Jurisprudence*, is divided into two parts. To the left of the window stands Justinian with his Code of Civil

Law ; which Trebonius receives at his hands with an air of submission and obedience which no other pencil may ever hope to equal. To the right is seen Gregory IX. delivering his book of the Decretals to an Advocate of the Consistory, and bearing the features of Julius II. ; as though the latter might there see a reflection of himself. In the concluding picture, the Parnaso, we have a view of Mount Parnassus, where, in company with Apollo and the Muses, are represented the Greek, Roman, and Tuscan poets, as far as was possible, with their own proper features. The most admirable head of all is, perhaps, that of Homer, who is placed between Virgil and Dante : he has all the air of an inspired being, combining the characters of the prophet and the bard. The historical chiaroscuros contribute, by their beauty, to the gratification of the spectator, and, by their agreement with the rest, to the unity of the design. Thus, for instance, under the Theology, St. Augustine is represented standing by the seashore, listening to an angel who warns him not to attempt to penetrate into the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, which must ever be above human comprehension : under the Philosophy is seen Archimedes, in the act of being put to death by a soldier, while wholly absorbed by his studies. This first chamber was completed in the year

1511; for such is the date inscribed near the Parnaso.

Vasari, until the completion of this first chamber, makes no mention of any improvement in Raphael's manner; on the contrary, in his life of Raphael, he uses these words:—"Notwithstanding the many monuments of antiquity which he had had an opportunity of observing in that city, and which he had studied with unremitting attention, still he had not, up to this time, imparted to his figures that air of grandeur and majesty, with which he thenceforth contrived to invest them. Now it happened that, at about this period, Michael Angelo, while painting in the Sistine Chapel, caused the Pope that perturbation and alarm, (of which more in his life,) on account of which he was obliged to fly to Florence. Whence, Bramante, to whom the keys of the chapel were consigned, showed it, as a friend, to Raphael, in order that he might acquire some notion of Michael Angelo's style:" he then goes on to instance the Isaiah in the church of St. Augustine, and the Sibyls in that della Pace, as well as the Heliodorus. In the life of Michael Angelo he refers afresh to "the intemperate behaviour which obliged him to quit Rome," and proceeds to observe that, when, after his return he had completed about half the work, the Pope immediately

ordered it to be exposed to view ; “ whereupon Raphael d’Urbino, who was particularly happy at imitation, had no sooner seen it, than he adopted a different style, and forthwith produced the Prophets and Sibyls in the church della Pace.” This brings us to a point of controversy debated with great warmth both in Italy and other countries. Bellori fiercely attacked Vasari in a pamphlet entitled—*Se Raffaello ingrandì e migliorò la maniera per aver vedute l’opere di Michelangiolo*—“ Whether Raphael’s enlargement and improvement of style was owing to his having seen the works of Michael Angelo.” He was answered by Crespi, in three letters inserted in the *Lettere Pittoriche* (vol. ii. p. 323) ; while many others also have embraced one side or other of the controversy, and brought forward fresh arguments in support of their opinion.

This, however, is no fit opportunity to occupy the reader’s time in tedious discussions. It was doubtless greatly to the advantage of Michael Angelo’s fame, that he met with two scholars, who, while he himself was yet living, and when Raphael was no more, undertook to write his life ; and greatly to the detriment of Raphael’s that he did not meet with the like good fortune. Had he still been alive when Vasari and Condivi published their works, he would not have passed them over in silence. He might easily have proved,

that when Bonarruoti fled to Florence, that is to say, in the year 1506, he himself was not at Rome, nor was invited thither till two years afterwards; and that, therefore, he could not have obtained a furtive view of the paintings in the Sistine Chapel. Raphael might have proved, too, that from the year 1508, at which time Michael Angelo had not perhaps commenced his work, till 1511, the year that he exhibited the first half of it, he (Raphael) had been constantly aiming at a more elevated style; and that, as Bonarruoti had compassed this point by studying the *Belvidere torso*, so had he accomplished the same object, by studying not only the torso but other remains of antiquity, whose manner of design is plainly visible in his works. He might have asked Vasari in what he considered grandeur and majesty of style to consist; and might, both from the example of the ancient Greeks, and the reason of the thing itself, have taught him, that the sublime does not consist in an indiscriminate adoption of muscularity of limb or violence of gesture; but, as Mengs also has observed, in the selection of the nobler, and the neglect of the inferior and meaner parts, and in exciting elevated ideas by novelty of invention. Hence, by little and little, he might have pointed out to him what there was of sublime in the School of Athens, as it is called—in the majesty of the edifice, the contour of the

figures, the disposition of the drapery, the gravity of countenance and demeanour ; and might easily have traced the source of this sublimity to the remains of ancient art. And granting that he did adopt a more elevated style in his *Isaiah*, yet he might have confuted Vasari even by his own words, who, in another part of his history, makes this work anterior to 1511, and thus in some sort contemporary with the School of Athens ; and might, moreover, have added, that he adopted this more elevated style with a view to meet the demands of the subject, and in imitation of the ancient Greeks. For the Greeks made a marked difference between ordinary men and heroes, and again between heroes and gods ; and he, therefore, after having represented philosophers engaged in mere human disquisitions, might well be expected to take a loftier flight, when he came to portray a being possessed by the divine spirit of prophecy. All this might Raphael have urged by way of answer, in order to clear himself and Bramante from the improbable imputation. For the rest, I suspect he never would have denied that Michael Angelo's works had inspired him with greater boldness of design, or that, in the expression of strong character, he had sometimes even imitated them. But how imitated them ? " By rendering," as Crespi himself observes, " that very character more engaging and more

majestic." (p. 344.) It is a strong circumstance in Raphael's favour that we are able to say:—Let any one, who would see what is wanting in the Sibyls of Michael Angelo, examine those of Raphael; and again, Let any one observe the Isaiah of Raphael, who would know what it is that is wanting in the Prophets of M. Angelo.

No sooner had public curiosity been gratified, and Raphael obtained a transient glimpse of this new style, than Bonarruoti caused the doors to be closed, and applied himself to the remainder of his great undertaking, which he completed towards the end of the year 1512; so that, on Christmas-day, the Pope was enabled to perform grand mass in the Sistine Chapel. In the course of this year Raphael portrayed, in the second chamber, the story of the Flagellation of Heliodorus in the Temple, at the prayers of Onias the high-priest—one of the most celebrated paintings in the Vatican. Here, in the vision that appears to Heliodorus, you might almost fancy you hear the thundering approach of the heavenly warrior, and the neighing of his steed; while in the different groups of those that are ransacking the Temple of its treasures, and those that are intent on observing the sudden consternation of Heliodorus, without being able to divine the cause, we see expressed terror, amazement, joy, self-abasement, and every passion to which human nature is sub-

ject. By this painting, and the others in these chambers, "Raphael (as Mengs observes) imparted to the art every improvement of which it was capable after Michael Angelo." Here he introduced the portrait of Julius II., whose zeal is expressed in the Onias. He is represented borne in by his attendants on a chair of state, as though he had come to look at the work. The Miracle of Bolsena, too, was painted during the life-time of Julius.

The whole of the remainder of these chambers was painted during the reign of Leo X.; to whose imprisonment at Ravenna, and subsequent liberation, the Deliverance of St. Peter out of Prison by the Angel alludes. It was here that the painter afforded such admirable lessons in the management of light: thus the soldiers who stand without the prison are distinctly visible by the moonbeams reflected from their armour; then there is a candle which produces another and totally different light; while from the angel emanates a celestial splendour that emulates the brightness of the sun. Here, too, he afforded another memorable lesson in art; by showing that the very impediments thrown in the way of invention may sometimes be turned even to the advantage of invention: for the wall on which he was painting being divided by a window, he feigned on each side of it a flight of steps leading up to

the prison, and on these steps disposed the guard, overpowered by sleep,—so that the painter seems not so much to have accommodated himself to the place, as the place to have been subservient to the painter. The story of St. Leo the Great, who dissuades Attila from marching forward with his army; and that in the next chamber, where we see the Battle against the Saracens at the port of Ostia, and the victory obtained over them by Leo IV., might justify Raphael's claim to the epic poet's crown: so well has he portrayed the war-like array of horse and foot, the various arms peculiar to each nation, the fury of the combat, the shame and grief attendant on defeat. Near this is another admirable piece, styled the Fire of the Borgo, miraculously extinguished by the same St. Leo. It is a spectacle which alternately chills the heart with horror, and melts it with compassion. The terrible effects of fire are carried to their utmost limits; the time being night, the flames raging over a vast extent of ground, and their fury increased by a violent wind which seems to scatter about the burning embers, insomuch that you almost fancy you see them driven from house to house. The despair of the sufferers is also carried to its utmost bounds: some attempt to convey water, but are overpowered by the wind or driven back by the smoke; others seek safety in flight, bare-foot, naked, and with hair dishevelled: there you

behold women turning with imploring looks to the holy pontiff; here, mothers who tremble for their offspring rather than for themselves; there, a youth, bearing on his shoulders his aged sire, and ready to sink beneath the weight of his helpless limbs, yet collecting all his might to convey him to a place of safety. The concluding pictures refer to Leo III.; such as the Coronation of Charlemagne by the hand of that Pontiff, and the Oath which the Pope takes on the New Testament, to exculpate himself from the calumnies laid to his charge. In this Leo we see expressed the features of Leo X., who is thus honoured in the persons of his predecessors of the same name: for Charlemagne is substituted Francis I., king of France; and, in like manner, in the retinue of attendants are represented various other personages who lived at the time; nay, there is not a picture in these chambers which does not contain the most accurate likenesses. Even in this branch of art, too, Raphael must be acknowledged supreme. His portraits have sometimes deceived even the best judges. For instance, he executed one of Leo X., which the Cardinal Datario, of the time being, one day approached with certain *Bulls*, and pen and ink in hand, for the purpose of procuring the Pope's signature.

The six stories which refer to Leo, who was elected in 1513, were completed in 1517. During

the nine years that Raphael was employed on these chambers, as well as during the three following, he was also busily engaged in the other decorations of the Vatican. Here he paved the way for the appropriate embellishment of royal residences; taking care to adopt the style of ornament best suited to each part of it; so that the Pope's palace afterwards became a model both of magnificence and taste to all Europe. Of his merit in this respect, to which few have adverted, we shall here make distinct mention. Raphael had superintended the building of the new Loggia of the Vatican, availing himself partly of Bramante's design, and partly improving upon it. "He then prepared the designs for the stucco ornaments, and the small historical pieces painted there, as well as for the different compartments; and afterwards appointed Giovanni da Udine to superintend the execution of the stuccos and the arabesques, and Giulio Romano that of the figures. The exposure of this gallery to the inclemency of the weather has almost reduced it to the squalid appearance of the ancient grotesques; but they who saw it soon after it was finished, when the lustre of the gilding, the snowy whiteness of the stuccos, the brilliance of the colours, and the freshness of the marbles, made it resplendent with beauty on every side, must have been struck with amazement as at a vision of Paradise.

Vasari says a great deal of it in these few words:—"that it was impossible, not only to execute, but even to conceive a more admirable work." The best preserved parts of this work are the thirteen coved ceilings, on each of which are distributed four historical pieces from Holy Writ; the first of which—the Creation of the World—Raphael executed with his own hand as a model for the rest; which, after they had been painted by his scholars, were, according to his usual custom, retouched and rendered uniform by himself. Their chief merit, however, consists in this, that we here have Raphael's invention, expression, and design; and in this respect, all are agreed, that each story is in itself a school. It would seem, too, as though he had even here aimed at emulating Michael Angelo, who had treated the same subject in the Sistine Chapel; and thus invited the public to judge whether he did not equal him. To give a suitable description of the other pictures in chiaroscuro, the numerous landscapes and architectural ornaments, the trophies, mock cameos, masks, and other subjects which this divine artist either designed himself, or formed into new combinations from the antique, would, as Taia has observed, be a task far beyond the reach of human powers.

Nor was there any other work carried on at the Vatican, whether in stone or marble, where a know-

ledge of design was requisite, that did not come under the inspection of Raphael, and on which he did not impress the marks of his taste; which was of the highest order even in the sister art of sculpture. Of this we have a proof in his *Jonah*, in the Chigi chapel at the church of the *Madonna del Popolo*; a figure executed by *Lorenzetto* under the direction of Raphael, and one which, according to *Bottari*, "might almost bear comparison with the finest efforts of Grecian art." His designs for the tapestries in the papal chapel, in which were represented the most remarkable events recorded in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, formed another admirable work. Raphael both designed and coloured the cartoons, which, after the tapestries had been finished in the Low Countries, passed over into England, where they still remain. Even in these tapestries, too, the art was carried to the highest pitch of excellence, nor has the world since beheld any thing to equal them in beauty.

Amidst all this variety of occupations, Raphael did not neglect to gratify the wishes of many private individuals, who were ambitious either of procuring from him designs for villas, (a subject in which he displayed exquisite taste,) or else of possessing pictures by him. The Casino of *Agostino Chigi*, (*Farnesina*), which he himself embellished with the celebrated *Galatea*, is too well

known to require any comment from me: there, too, with the assistance of his scholars, he afterwards depicted the Nuptials of Psyche, and at the marriage feast assembled all the heathen deities, with such propriety of form and character, of symbols, and of genii, that in fabulous subjects of this nature he has been placed almost on a level with the ancients themselves. These pictures, as well as those in the chambers of the Vatican, were retouched with incredible care by Carlo Maratta. Raphael also painted a good many altar-pieces, almost all of them containing various Saints; as, for instance, that which he painted for the Contesse at Foligno, where he introduced the Pope's chamberlain, looking more like a living being itself, than the representation of one; that which he executed for S. Giovanni in Monte, at Bologna, representing St. Cecilia, who, rapt in heavenly melody, seems to forget her own instrument, which is on the point of falling neglected from her hands; that for Palermo, of Christ on his way to Mount Calvary, called "the picture dello Spasimo," which however much disparaged by Cumberland in consequence of its having been retouched, is still one of the noblest ornaments of the royal collection at Madrid; and those others for Naples and Placentia, which are recorded by his biographers. He also painted a St. Michael for the king of France, and so many more Holy Families and other devo-

tional pieces, that neither Vasari, nor any other of his biographers, has ever furnished a complete catalogue of them.

But though the creation of such miracles of art was now passed into a habit with this celebrated painter, yet it was not to be supposed that every part even of his works would be equally admirable. It is well known that certain errors in anatomy, in some of his figures, both in the frescos of the Vatican and those of the Chigi Casino, did not escape criticism—errors committed, as Vasari says, by his scholars. Mengs, whose various writings show that he changed his opinions with his years, insinuates more than once, that Raphael for some time seemed to slumber, not contributing to the advancement of art so much as might have been expected from his genius; and this probably happened during those few years that Michael Angelo absented himself from Rome. On M. Angelo's return thither, he heard it asserted by many, that Raphael's paintings were superior to his in "the charms of colouring, superior too in beauty, inventiveness, and gracefulness of composition, while they displayed a corresponding accuracy of design; whereas, with the exception of design, his works had no such merits to boast of."—(Vasari.) Annoyed by such reports as these, he began, as we have already observed, to patronize Fra Sebastiano, at once availing himself

of his pencil, and furnishing him with designs. The most celebrated work to which this union of their talents gave birth, was a Transfiguration, in fresco, together with a Flagellation, and certain other figures, in a chapel of St. Peter's in Montorio. On a subsequent occasion, Raphael having to paint an altar-piece for the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., Sebastiano, seemingly in competition with him, executed another on the same scale; Sebastiano taking for his subject the Resurrection of Lazarus—Raphael, with his accustomed spirit of emulation, the Transfiguration of our Saviour. We have here a painting which, according to Mengs, "possesses far greater beauties than any previous work of Raphael's. The expression is nobler and more delicate, the chiaroscuro more correct, the perspective more skilfully managed, the pencilling more exquisitely finished; there is, too, greater variety in the drapery, greater beauty in the heads, and greater elevation in the style." In this work he portrayed the mysterious scene that occurred on the summit of Mount Tabor; placing on the side of the mount a group of the Disciples; and, with the happiest invention, representing them engaged in an action suited to their powers, in order that this episode, as it may be called, might not exceed the bounds of probability. Here he has represented a boy, brought before them,

in order that they might cast out the evil spirit that torments him ; while in the fury of the possessed, the steady faith of the father, the affliction of a beautiful and interesting female, and the compassion evinced by the apostles, he has depicted the most pathetic story he ever conceived. And yet even all this excites not our admiration so much as the primary subject on the summit of the mount. There the figures of the two Prophets and the three Disciples are truly admirable ; but still more admirable is that of the Saviour, in which we seem to behold that brightness of eternal glory, that supernatural lightness, that air of divinity, which will one day bless the eyes of his elect. In this head of the Saviour, on which he lavished all his powers of majesty and beauty, we see at once the last perfection of art, and the last work of Raphael.

From this period he never more touched the pencil. Being soon afterwards seized with a fatal distemper, he expired with Christian resignation at the age of thirty-seven, in the year 1520, on Good Friday, which was also the anniversary of his birth ; and this great picture of the Transfiguration was exposed to public view in the room where he had been used to paint, together with his mortal remains, previous to their interment in the church of the Rotunda. There was not an artist but wept to tears at this affecting sight.

Raphael's demeanour had ever been such as was calculated to win the affections of mankind. Respectful towards his master, he prevailed upon the Pope to allow what he had painted on one of the ceilings of the *Camere Vaticane* to remain untouched; just towards his rivals, he thanked God that he had been born in the days of Bonarruoti; kind towards his pupils, he was as warmly attached to them, and instructed them with as much care, as though they had been his children; courteous even to strangers, he freely lent his aid to all who asked his advice; and so far from being able to refuse a favour, could not even persuade himself to defer it; sometimes even neglecting his own works, either to prepare designs for others, or to give them directions in their studies. All this the spectators now mutually called to mind; at one time casting their eyes on his youthful corpse, and on those hands which, in imitating nature's works, had almost surpassed nature herself; at another, fixing them on that his last performance, which seemed to them the first fruits of a new and still more admirable style; nor could they help lamenting that, together with the life of Raphael, the brightest prospects of art were thus suddenly come to an end. The Pope himself was deeply affected by his death, and, at his command, Bembo wrote that epitaph which is now inscribed on his tomb: indeed, not only all Italy, but all

the polite world, regarded his death as a public misfortune. True indeed it is, that soon after his decease, Rome herself and her whole territory experienced such dire calamities, that many had good reason to envy him not only the prosperity of his life, but also the opportuneness of his death. He was not doomed to witness the cruel sack of Rome ! He was not doomed to see wasted with fire and sword, that very city which his genius had so much contributed to embellish, and of which he had been, for so many years, the ornament, the delight, and admiration !

Raphael is now by common consent placed at the head of his profession ; not because he surpassed all others in every department of painting, but because no other ever attained to such a degree of excellence in all the different branches of the art, taken together, as he attained to. Indeed, so multifarious and so difficult are the various branches of this art, that no one has ever yet been able to attain to perfection in them all. Apelles himself was said to yield to Amphion in gracefulness of disposition and harmony of arrangement, to Asclepiodorus in symmetry, to Protogenes in diligence of execution. (Plin. xxxv. 10.)

Design.—Raphael's style of design, as seen in those uncoloured drawings which now form the chief ornament of certain cabinets, presents us, if we may so say, with the express image of his

mind : such is the accuracy of contour, the grace, precision, diligence, and genius, which they display. One of the most admired of these, called the Calumny of Apelles, I once met with in the Ducal gallery at Modena ; a most exquisitely finished specimen, and above all praise,—combining the invention of the first painter of Greece, and the execution of the first painter of Italy. I has been made a question, whether Raphael was not inferior to Michael Angelo in design ; and Mengs himself concedes the point, so far as regards the delineation of the muscles and the expression of strong character, in which he acknowledges that the former was content to imitate the latter. Yet we must not therefore join Vasari in asserting that, “in the attempt to prove that his knowledge of anatomy was equal to Michael Angelo’s, he in some measure impaired his reputation.” On the contrary, in the figures of the two youths in the Fire of the Borgo, criticised by Vasari—one of whom, to avoid being burnt to death, is seen letting himself down from a wall, while the other is bearing away his father upon his shoulders—he not only proved himself to be intimately acquainted with the action of the muscles, and with anatomy in general, as far as was requisite in a painter ; but showed, moreover, on what occasions such knowledge might be displayed without osten-

tation; that is, in figures of a robust form, under circumstances of violent exertion.

In delicacy of style, Raphael has by some been placed on a level with the Greeks; but this must be deemed extravagance of praise. Agostino Carracci proposes him as a model of symmetry; and in this he no doubt made nearer approaches to the ancients than any other artist ever did; save that, as Mengs observes, he did not equal them in the drawing of his hands, owing to a want of examples to copy from; for in the ancient statues the hands are rarely found uninjured. He had the tact to distinguish between the beautiful and the true, and, as Mariette, who was rich in his designs, has observed, copied nature with all her imperfections; taking care to amend the different parts of these sketches whenever he availed himself of them in his works. He laboured more especially to give perfection to his heads; and from a letter addressed to Castiglione, on the subject of the *Galatea* at the *Farnesina*, we plainly see how studious he was of selecting all that was best in nature, and of perfecting it afterwards by the charms of ideal grace.—(Lett. Pittor, vol. i. 84.) He availed himself, too, of his mistress, the *Formarina*; whose portrait, by the hand of Raphael himself, was formerly in the *Barberini* palace, and whose features are discernible in so many



of his Madonnas, as well as in the picture of St. Cecilia, at Bologna, and many others of his female heads. Critics have often expressed a wish that these heads had possessed a more dignified character; and, indeed, in this respect, it would seem that Raphael was confessedly surpassed by Guido Reni. So again, though his figures of children are very beautiful, yet those of Titian are still more so. His true province was the portraying of the heads of men, which, after he had selected them from nature, he always took care to invest with an air of dignity suited to the subject. Vasari says, that there is in the air of these heads something superhuman; and deservedly eulogizes the force and reality with which Raphael has delineated the different characters of age, simplicity, and faith, in the respective heads of his prophets, apostles, and martyrs. In the countenance of the Saviour, in the picture of the Transfiguration, he almost fancies he sees the Deity himself expressed, and made visible to mortal eyes.

Expression.—That which we have just noticed is one result of what is called expression, which in the paintings of Raphael has attracted more admiration of late years than it did formerly. It is not a little singular, that not only Zuccaro, (who to be sure was a very superficial writer,) but that Vasari, and even Lomazzo himself, so much more profound than either of them, should, in this re-

spect, have failed to award him the due meed of praise, which he afterwards received from Algharotti, Lazzarini, and Mengs. Leonardo da Vinci was, indeed, the first to lead the way in delicacy of expression, as we shall prove when we come to treat of the Milanese school: yet that artist, who painted so little, and with so much labour to himself, cannot be compared to Raphael, who carried this quality to its utmost limit. There is not a single emotion of the mind, nor a single character of passion known to the moral philosopher, which he has not caught, portrayed, and varied in a hundred different manners, and yet always within the bounds of propriety. We do not find it recorded of him, as we do of Da Vinci, that he constantly frequented public places for the purpose of catching these various expressions. The multiplicity of his pictures, too, proves that he could not have had time for such continued observation, while his designs plainly show that he did not equally stand in need of it. Nature, as I have already remarked, had endowed him with a liveliness of imagination which, transporting him in idea to the scene he was about to represent, however fictitious or remote, and thus making it in some sort real and present, rendered him capable of conceiving and of entering fully into those very emotions which the personages of the story must themselves have felt; nor did this vivid conception of his subject

ever desert him till he had portrayed the emotions in question with that air of reality which he had either observed them assume in the countenances of others, or with which he had invested them in his own mind. This rare faculty, so seldom met with even among poets, and so much more seldom among painters, no one ever possessed in a more eminent degree than Raphael. His figures seem to be actually inspired with the different passions of love, desire, fear, hope, and joy ; seem actually under the influence of anger, or else possessed with a spirit of placability, lowliness, or pride, just as best accords with the subject in hand : in-somuch, that the spectator, on regarding the countenances, the expressive looks, and gestures of his figures, oftentimes forgets that they are but the work of art ; he finds his own feelings excited, chooses his side, and fancies himself an actor in the scene before him. There is yet another delicacy of expression to be found in his works ; and that is the felicity with which he depicts the various gradations of passion, whereby a man may perceive at once whether they are only just commencing their career, whether they are on the increase, or whether they are already on the wane. He had, in his intercourse with the world, observed these varied shades of passion ; and on all occasions he knew how to transfer to the canvass

the observations that occurred to him. His very silence is eloquent ; and every actor

Il cor negli occhi, e nella fronte ha scritto.

Petrarch.

The slighter movements of the eyes, the nostrils, the lips, or the fingers, serve to indicate the first emotions of passion ; the more animated and violent gestures express its intensity ; and what is more, these gestures assume a hundred different shapes, without ever offending against the laws of nature, and conform themselves to a hundred different characters, without ever transgressing the bounds of decorum. His heroes look and act like heroes ; his ordinary men, like beings of a lower sphere : and what neither tongue nor pen could ever hope to describe, that Raphael contrives to express by a few strokes of the pencil. In vain have numbers endeavoured to imitate him ; his figures appear as if under the real impulse of mental feeling, while those of others, with the exception of Poussin and some few more, look as if conscious of acting a part, like players upon a stage. In fact, in this exquisite delineation of the various passions of the mind consists the grand merit of Raphael. And if it be acknowledged that this quality, called expression, constitutes the most difficult, the most philosophical, and the most sub-

lime walk of art, who then shall dispute the palm with him ?

Grace.—Another quality which Raphael possessed in an eminent degree, was grace,—a quality which may be said to impart an additional charm to beauty itself. Apelles, who was also endowed with this property in a very high degree, was so vain of the attribute, that, in consequence of it, he deemed himself superior to all the artists of antiquity.—(Plin. N. H. lib. 35. c. 10. Quint. Instit. Orat. xii. 10.) Raphael rivalled him among the moderns, and thence derived the name of the modern Apelles. Some little improvement might perhaps be made in the contours of his infantine and other more delicate figures, but it would be impossible to add to their gracefulness: carry it but one step further, and it would degenerate into affectation; as sometimes happened in the case of Parmigianino. His Madonnas, as Mengs observes, enchant us, not because they display the correct beauty of the Venus of Medicis or the celebrated daughter of Niobe, but because in those expressive features, and those engaging smiles, he realizes all our ideas of modesty, maternal love, sweetness of disposition, in a word, of grace itself. Nor is this quality diffused over the countenance alone; he has invested every attitude, every gesture, every action, and every fold of drapery, with a graceful ease which we may indeed admire, but can never

hope to equal. His very facility of execution formed a component part of this grace; which, in fact, ceases where labour and study begin;—for it is with the painter as with the orator; we listen with delight to a natural and spontaneous flow of eloquence, while we turn away with disgust from an artificial and studied harangue.

Colouring.—With regard to the art of colouring, Raphael must yield the palm to Titian and Coreggio, though in that also he surpasses Michael Angelo and a great many others. His frescos may, even for colouring, be placed on a level with the best of other schools; not so his oil paintings: in these he frequently availed himself of Giulio's assistance, whose pencilling was not altogether free from harshness and timidity; and though Raphael always put a finishing hand to them, yet they are often found to have lost the lustre of his last touches. This defect was not immediately perceptible, and had Raphael's life been spared, he would have been aware of the injury his pictures sustained from the lapse of time, and would not then have finished them in so light a manner. His first historical pieces in the Vatican, executed in the time of Julius II., are, as regards the point in question, considered superior to those which he painted in the time of Leo X.; as though, when his occupations multiplied upon him, and he himself became ambi-

tious of attaining a more elevated style, he began to neglect the strength and firmness of his colouring. But that he knew how to excel even in this, is evident from his portraits; where, having no scope for the display of invention, composition, grace, or ideal beauty, he seems to have aimed at distinguishing himself by his colouring. His two portraits of Julius II.—the Medicean and the Corsinian—are truly admirable in this respect; as is also that of Leo X. between two Cardinals; and above all, (according to the opinion of that eminent connoisseur, Renfesthein,) the portrait of Bindo Altoviti, in the possession of his descendants at Florence, and by many regarded as the portrait of Raphael himself. The heads in his picture of the Transfiguration are also very highly esteemed for their colouring, which Mengs pronounces to be of the most exquisite description. If there is an exception, it is in the complexion of the principal female figure, which has a sort of greyish tinge, as is not unfrequently perceptible in the heads of his more delicate figures; which are therefore esteemed less perfect than those of his men.

Chiaroscuro—Perspective.—Mengs has taken greater exception to his chiaroscuro, compared with that of Coreggio; of the justness of which I leave it to connoisseurs to judge. At the same time, I find it recorded, that Raphael formed his chiaroscuro by the help of wax models; and the

strong relief of his pictures, as well as the beautiful accidents of light and shade in the Heliodorus and the Transfiguration, are usually attributed to this practice. He also paid great attention to perspective. In some of his sketches, De Piles even found the scale of gradation (*la scala di degradazione*). Algarotti has asserted that he did not attempt that species of foreshortening called *di sotto in su*. This assertion we might rebut by an example still to be seen under the third *arcata* of the Loggia Vaticana, where, observes Taia, "there is a perspective of small columns represented *al di sotto in su*." It is true, however, that in his larger works he avoided it; and, with a view to give his pictures a greater appearance of nature, represented them as painted on a tapestry, attached by means of running knots to the ceiling of the room.

Invention.—But all the great qualities hitherto enumerated, would not have gained Raphael such extraordinary celebrity, had he not also possessed an astonishing felicity in the invention and disposition of his subjects; which was, in fact, the crowning merit of the whole. It may with truth be affirmed that, in this gift, he not only surpassed every example that had come under his notice, whether ancient or modern, but that no artist of recent date has ever yet equalled him. In every one of his pictures he does what the orator

ought to do in every one of his harangues—he instructs, moves, and delights us. The first of these is easy enough to the narrator, since he has it in his power regularly to unfold to us the gradual progress of an event. On the contrary, the painter can seize but a single moment to make himself understood; and it must be his endeavour to make us comprehend not only what is actually going on, but what is likely to ensue, and (which is still more difficult,) what has already occurred. Here then it is that the genius of Raphael stands triumphant. He contrives to place the whole subject distinctly before our eyes. Amidst a thousand circumstances he makes choice of those only that are most significant; he disposes his actors in such attitudes only as are most expressive; he invents the most novel modes of conveying a great deal of meaning by a few strokes of the pencil; a hundred little niceties, all united in one story, render the whole subject not only intelligible, but even palpable. Various writers have instanced, as an exemplification of this, the St. Paul at Lystra—the subject of one of the tapestries at the Vatican. The artist has there represented the sacrifice about to be offered up to him and St. Barnabas, his companion, as to two deities, on the occasion of their having restored the Lame Man to the use of his limbs. The altar, the attendants, the victims, the musicians, the build-

ings, the uplifted axe, sufficiently indicate the intentions of the Lystrians. St. Paul, who is in the act of rending his garments, shows in the plainest possible manner, that he rejects, that he abhors the sacrilegious honour, and that, with all his might, he dissuades the people from offering it. But all this were of no avail, unless the miracle which had just been wrought, and which had given rise to the whole circumstance, were also brought back to our recollection. Accordingly, the man who had been restored to the use of his limbs appears in the picture, but in such a guise that we easily distinguish him from all the rest. He stands before the holy apostles elate with joy; he raises his hands in a transport of gratitude towards his benefactors; while at his feet are seen the crutches upon which he had but recently supported himself, now cast aside as useless. This any other artist would have deemed sufficient; but Raphael, who sought to carry the reality of the scene to its utmost limit, introduced a crowd of figures, one of whom is seen lifting up the skirts of the man's garments, while the rest regard with eager curiosity the limbs that had been miraculously restored. This great painter abounds with similar examples, and resembles certain classic authors, who afford the more matter for reflection the more they are studied. Suffice it, however, to have thus briefly noticed, in the in-

ventive powers of Raphael, those circumstances which, though the least apt to engage the attention, are always the most difficult of execution. The excitation of the feelings, which is wholly the work of expression; the delight which arises from poetical conceptions or pleasing episodes, speak in a manner for themselves, and stand in no need of being pointed out.

To this head of invention we might refer various other merits of Raphael's works; as their unity, their sublimity, their costume, and keeping: nor need we go further in quest of them than to those elegant little poetical pieces with which he embellished the *Loggie* erected by Leo X., and which, when engraved by Lanfranco and Badalocchi, were called Raphael's Bible. In the Return of Jacob, for instance, in the number and variety of domestic animals, the crowd of servants, and of women bearing their little children along with them, who does not instantly perceive that it is one single family, migrating, with all its substance, from a spot where it had long been stationary to some new abode? In the Creation of the World, also, is not that figure of the Deity—who, with outstretched arms, is seen with one hand touching the sun, with the other the moon,—an instance of the sublime, which, by the simplest language, awakens the most awful ideas. In the Adoration of the Golden Calf, too, how could he

have better represented a ceremony blasphemous in its nature, and the very reverse of any thing like true religion, than by depicting a tumultuous throng intoxicated with frantic joy, and maddened by fanaticism? And then, for erudition, it would be sufficient to notice the Triumph of David, which Taia, in his Description of it, compares with the ancient relievos; almost inclining to the belief that sculpture never produced a work in better taste or keeping. I am not ignorant that, in some of his other works, he has not always steered clear of error; as in representing the figure of St. Peter outside the prison, a fault which impairs the unity of the piece; and in assigning to Apollo and the Muses instruments unknown to antiquity. But it is the glory of Raphael that he introduced into the art so many delicacies and improvements unknown to his predecessors, and left so few to be added by those who succeeded him.

Composition.—Even in composition he stands at the head of his profession. In every one of his pictures the principal figure is at once obvious to the spectator; there is no occasion to seek for it: the various groups, however detached as to situation, are yet connected together by the main action; the contrast of the different parts is dictated, not by affectation, but by truth and propriety; not unfrequently a figure which stands

absorbed in thought, serves as a foil to another which acts and speaks; the portions of the picture that are respectively thronged with figures, or destitute of them, as well as the masses of light and shade, are not the result of mere caprice, but of a strict imitation of the choicest nature. All is the effect of art, but of art so easy and unconstrained, that we lose sight of it. The School of Athens, as it is called, in the Vatican, is in this respect one of the most admirable compositions in the world.

Such is a cursory view of what Raphael, during the brief period of his career, contributed to the advancement of art. There is, indeed, scarcely a single work either of nature or art, in which he has not furnished a practical illustration of his own maxim, (handed down to us by Federigo Zuccari,) that things should be represented not as they are actually found to exist, but as they ought to exist. The entire face of nature, the different elements, the whole animal creation, the ornaments of architecture, as well as those derived from manufactures; every age, every condition, every affection of man—all have been depicted and rendered more lovely by the divine genius of Raphael.

A considerable number of pictures of his on sacred subjects are to be met with in different collections; more especially those of the Madonna

with the Infant Jesus and other personages of the Holy Family. They are in all the three styles which we have already described; the Grand Duke of Tuscany has a specimen or two of each; and the most admired is that called the *Madonna della Seggiola*. With regard to this class of pictures, doubts are often raised as to whether they ought to be taken for originals or copies; some of them having been repeated as many as three, five, or even ten times. The same may be said of certain other cabinet pictures, especially of the *St. John in the Desert*, in the Royal Gallery at Florence,—a picture to be met with in various collections both in and out of Italy. This would naturally happen in a school, where the plan usually adopted was this:—Raphael prepared the design, Giulio then proceeded to paint the picture, leaving it, however, to his master to give it the last finishing touches; which he did with such exquisite nicety, that sometimes one might almost count the hairs of the head. When these pictures had thus received the last degree of finish, they were copied by his scholars, of whom there was always a great number of second and third-rate merit; and these copies again were retouched either by Raphael or Giulio. No one, however, at all conversant with the freedom and softness of Raphael's manner, need fear confounding him with any of his school, not even with Giulio him-

self; who, besides betraying a more timid pencil, is more profuse than his master in the use of blacks. I have occasionally met with connoisseurs who have affirmed that Giulio's style may always be distinguished—by the darkness of his fleshs and the duskiness of his middle tints, which latter have neither the leaden hue nor nice gradation visible in Raphael's—by the greater frequency of light—and by a greater degree of roundness in the eyes; those of Raphael being, after the example of Perugino, of a somewhat longer make.

Such was the auspicious commencement of that school which we call Roman, rather from the place of its foundation, than from the painters that adorned it. For as the inhabitants of that city, of whom the descendants of Romulus form but a small portion, are a medley of many different nations and languages; so her school of painting has always been thronged by a crowd of foreigners, whom she has incorporated with her own sons, and treated, in her Academy of St. Luke, just as if they had been born in Rome, or were entitled to all the privileges of genuine Romans. Hence was derived the great variety of discordant styles that we shall have to notice in the sequel. Some, as Caravaggio for example, derived no benefit from the study of the remains of ancient sculpture, and other helps peculiar to the place; and these may rather be said to have

been in the Roman school, than actually to have formed a part of it. Others adopted the maxims of Raphael's disciples; and their usual plan was to devote themselves chiefly to the study of Raphael's works, and the remains of antiquity; and from their imitation of the former, and more especially of the latter, results, if I mistake not, the general character, and, if I may use the expression, the peculiar idiom (*l'accento proprio*) of the Roman school. Being habituated from their youth to copy statues and relievos, and having objects of this nature continually before their eyes, they readily transferred the same forms to the panel or the canvass. Hence their design usually betrays vestiges of the antique, and their works have more of ideal beauty than those of other schools. But this study of the antique, though of great assistance to such as knew how to turn it to account, became absolutely detrimental to others; leading them to design figures that have the air of statues; beautiful, certainly, but too entire, and too inanimate. Others, again, have done themselves more harm by copying our modern statues of saints; an exercise which facilitates the representation of devotional attitudes, the disposition of the folds in the vestments of monks or priests, and other peculiarities not to be met with in ancient statuary. But as sculpture has in these latter ages been itself on the decline, it could of

course be of no great assistance to the painter : on the contrary, it has led many astray into mannerism, from anxiety to dispose their drapery after the manner of Bernini or Algardi; eminent sculptors, certainly, but who ought not, therefore, in a city like Rome, to have had such influence over the art of painting as they contrived to acquire. In this school, the quality of invention is, in general, combined with taste, the composition is sober, the keeping correct, the love of ornament confined within due bounds; at least as far as regards oil paintings. Generally speaking, the colouring is not the most brilliant, nor yet is it the most feeble; there having always been in this school a number of Lombard and Flemish painters, who prevented it from being totally neglected.

Raphael "at all times kept in employ a vast number of artists, whom he supplied at once with assistance and instruction;" whence, as Vasari informs us, he never appeared at court without being accompanied by above fifty painters, all of them of distinguished merit, who attended him out of respect. These he employed in the way best suited to the abilities of each. Some of them, having acquired what information they judged necessary, returned to their native place; others remained with him till his death, and even after that event still continued to reside at Rome—the

first scions of Raphael's school. At the head of all was Giulio Romano, whom, in conjunction with Gio. Francesco Penni, Raphael had appointed his heir; whence these two took upon them to finish such works as their master had engaged to execute. With themselves they associated, as a third, Perino del Vaga, and, by way of drawing the bonds of this union closer, gave him a sister of Penni's to wife. These three were moreover joined by certain others who had worked under Raphael. At first they were in no great request, "for," says Vasari, "the first place in art being, through the influence of Michael Angelo, universally assigned to Fra Sebastiano, the followers of Raphael were all kept in the back ground." In 1521 followed the death of Leo X., and the election in his stead of Adrian VI., a sworn foe to the fine arts, who suffered the public works contemplated and already commenced by his predecessor to remain in an unfinished state; insomuch, that owing partly to this circumstance, and partly to the plague of 1523, a great number of artists were almost ready to die of want. Adrian, however, dying after a reign of twenty-three months, and Giulio de' Medici being, under the name of Clement VII., elected as his successor, the arts began to revive again. Raphael himself had begun to paint the great saloon of the Vatican, having already finished one or two of the figures, and left

designs for the completion of the remainder. It was intended to represent four historical events, one or two of them, to say the truth, usually considered somewhat apocryphal. These subjects were,—the Apparition of the Cross, or the Call of Constantine—the Battle between Constantine and Maxentius, in which the latter is drowned, and the former comes off victorious—the Baptism of Constantine, by the hands of S. Sylvester—and his Donation of the city of Rome, conferred on the same Pontiff. The two first of these were executed by Giulio Romano, the remaining two by Penni; while underneath each story were painted sham relievos of a bronze colour, together with certain other figures. They next painted, or, to speak more properly, completed, the pictures of the villa at the foot of Monte Mario—a work ordered by Clement VII., while he was as yet no more than Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and suspended till the second or third year of his reign. This was afterwards called the Villa Madama, where there still exist, though greatly impaired by the hand of time, many vestiges both of the munificence of the prince, and of the taste of Raphael's scholars. Meanwhile, Giulio Romano, with the consent of the Pope, went and established himself at Mantua; Penni set out for Naples; and a short time afterwards, that is to say, in 1527, on occasion of the memorable sack of Rome,

and in consequence of the ill treatment they had met with from the soldiery, Vaga, Polidoro, Gio. da Udine, Peruzzi, Vincenzio di S. Gimignano, likewise quitted that city; as did also Parmigianino, who at that time happened to be at Rome, and had become an enthusiastic follower of Raphael. Thus this illustrious school was at once dissipated and scattered over all Italy; so that the new style was propagated with rapidity, and gave rise to the many florid schools, which will form the subjects of other books. One or two of Raphael's followers returned to Rome, but the brilliant epoch, already described, was past. That epoch cannot be brought down lower than the sack of the city; after which event the art daily declined in the Capital, till at length it ended in mere mannerism.

GIULIO ROMANO.

GIULIO PIPPI, otherwise called Giulio Romano, the most distinguished of Raphael's scholars, resembled his master more in energy than in delicacy of style; succeeding eminently in the representation of battles, which he depicted with equal

spirit and erudition. In grandeur of design he almost rivals Michael Angelo; completely mastering the whole mechanism of the human frame, which he bends and accommodates to his purpose with unerring skill; save that now and then, from over anxiety to make his meaning plain, he is guilty of too much violence in his attitudes. Vasari prefers his sketches to his finished works; being of opinion that the warmth of the original conception was apt to cool during the progress of execution. Some condemn the swarthiness of his countenances, and indeed he is generally censured for the duskiness of his middle tints. Nicholas Poussin, however, referring to this harshness of colouring in the Battle of Constantine the Great, was accustomed to express his approbation of it, as being well suited to the fury of a combat. In the picture at the church dell' Anima—a Madonna surrounded by various saints—and in other similar subjects, it does not produce the same happy effect. His cabinet pictures are rare, and sometimes of a lascivious cast. He painted, for the most part, in fresco; and the vast works which he executed at Mantua must be sought under the head of that school, which looks up to him as its founder.

Il Fattore.—Gianfrancesco Penni, a Florentine, called also *il Fattore*, from the circumstance of having been, in early life, employed in a menial

station in the studio of Raphael, became afterwards one of the most successful in executing his master's sketches: he assisted him more than any other in the cartoons for the tapestries; and coloured in the *Loggie* of the Vatican the stories of Abraham and Isaac, noticed by Taia. Among the works of Raphael, completed by Penni after the former's death, many reckon the Assumption at Monte Luci in Perugia, of which the lower part, containing the figures of the Apostles, is by Giulio; while the upper part, which displays all the grace of Raphael's style, is said to be by Penni: true it is, however, that Vasari ascribes it to Perino del Vaga. Penni sometimes painted from designs of his own, though his frescos at Rome have perished, and his other pictures are so rarely to be met with in collections as to be almost unknown. He is said to have evinced great quickness in learning the different branches of the art, as well as much gracefulness of execution, and remarkable aptitude for landscape painting. Having been by Raphael appointed joint heir with Giulio Romano, he would gladly have formed a connexion with him a second time: but on his arrival at Mantua, being coldly received by Giulio, he proceeded to Naples, where, though he survived but a short time, he greatly contributed to the advancement of art.

Perino del Vaga, whose real name was Perino

Buonaccorsi, a relative and fellow-citizen of Penni, also took part in the decorations of the Vatican ; sometimes working at the stuccos and arabesques with Giovanni da Udine ; sometimes, like Polidoro, painting chiaroscuros ; sometimes finishing historical pieces, either after Raphael's sketches or in imitation of his style. In point of design, Vasari assigns him the first place among the Florentine artists, after Michael Angelo ; and esteems him the best painter among all the followers of Raphael. This at least is certain, that taking together all the branches of the art in which Raphael excelled, no one was so well able to enter into competition with Giulio Romano as he ; and that the stories from the New Testament, which he painted in the Loggie Vaticane, were more lauded even by Taia than were any of the rest. His style betrays many evident vestiges of the Florentine school ; as may be seen at Rome in his Creation of Eve at the church of S. Marcello, where there are certain infantine figures that almost look as if they were alive,—a work deservedly held in the highest repute. A monastery at Tivoli possesses a St. John in the Desert by him, with a landscape in the best taste. Lucca, Pisa, and more especially Genoa, also possess a considerable number of his paintings.

Giovanni da Udine also assisted Raphael in the arabesques and stuccos with which he embellished

the Loggie Vaticane, the Sala of the Pontiffs, and various other places. Indeed, in this species of stucco-work he is said to have been the first to lead the way among the moderns; having, after repeated attempts, at length succeeded in imitating the ornaments in the Baths of Titus, discovered about that time at Rome, and excavated afresh in our own days.

Polidoro da Caravaggio, at first a common labourer in the works of the Vatican, afterwards an artist of great celebrity, distinguished himself by his imitations of the ancient relievos; composing the most beautiful chiaroscuros out of subjects taken both from sacred and profane story. In this kind nothing has ever yet been seen more perfect, whether we consider the composition, the colour, or the design; in which, according to the opinion of many, Raphael and Polidoro made nearer approaches to the style of the ancients than any one else that ever lived. Rome at one time abounded with friezes, façades, and *soprapporti*, painted by him and Maturino of Florence, his companion; but these, to the great detriment of art, have nearly all perished. The story of Niobe alla Maschera d'oro, which was one of their most celebrated works, is also one that has suffered least from the ravages of time and the hand of barbarism. The loss of their other works is in some measure compensated by the prints of Cherubino

Alberti and Santi Bartoli, who engraved a considerable number of them while they were yet in good preservation. Polidoro lost his companion at Rome, who died, as was supposed, of the plague: he himself repaired to Naples, and afterwards to Sicily, where he fell a victim to the cupidity of his own servant,—and with him seemed to perish invention, grace, and boldness of design.

Il Garofalo.—Benvenuto Tisi di Ferrara, or Garofalo, as he was called, continued but a short time with Raphael; but long enough to become one of the greatest ornaments of the Ferrarese school. In design, contour, expression, and for the most part also, in colouring, he imitated Raphael; except that he added something of a bolder and more fiery character, which seems to have been derived from his own school. Rome, Bologna, and other cities of Italy, abound with small pictures of his on subjects taken from the New Testament: they are of different degrees of merit, and not all of them entirely the work of his own hand. His larger pictures are more rarely to be met with; in these the Chigi gallery is the richest. His Visitation in the Doria palace is one of the most beautiful pieces in that vast collection. This artist was accustomed to introduce into his pictures a violet, or (as it is more commonly called in Italy) a garofalo,—a circumstance from which he derived his name.

ROMAN SCHOOL.

EPOCH III.

AFTER THE PUBLIC CALAMITIES OF ROME THE ART GRADUALLY DECLINES, AND SINKS MORE AND MORE INTO MANNERISM.

AFTER the year 1527, Rome for some time continued in a state of stupor, contemplating her past and present condition ; beginning even afterwards, like a shipwrecked vessel, but slowly to repair the damage she had sustained. The soldiery, among other injuries which they had committed in the Apostolical palace, had partly defaced some of Raphael's heads : and these, Fra Sebastiano, who was by no means equal to the task, was commissioned to restore. Such at least was Titian's opinion, who, being taken to see these chambers, and being ignorant of the circumstance, asked Sebastiano himself " who the presumptuous blockhead was, that had daubed over those noble heads,"—the verdict of an impartial judge, against which even the protection of Michael Angelo could not shield the unlucky artist. Paul III. was now in possession of the papal chair, and under his auspices the arts began again to revive ; receiving

nourishment, as it were, from the decorations carrying on at the Capraruola palace, and from other magnificent works undertaken by Paul himself and others of the Farnese family ;—too happy, had they but been able to meet with another Raphael ! Bonarruoti, as we have observed, was engaged in the service of the Pope ; and furnished the Roman school with many specimens of art, but with no scholars of any note. After the death of Raphael, Sebastiano, freed from further competition, and honoured with the lucrative office of the Papal Seal, (*del Piombo*,) had given way to self-indulgence ; and, though always disinclined to work, now sunk into downright indolence. Giulio Romano was now invited to return to Rome, and the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's offered to him ; but his death put an end to this scheme. Nevertheless, Perino del Vaga returned thither, and might alone have effected the restoration of art, had he possessed as much magnanimity as he undoubtedly possessed ability. But he was far from being endowed with the generous spirit of his master : he taught with jealousy, and painted merely for the sake of gain, or, to speak more correctly, painted very little himself ; but undertaking works of every description, whether of a high or low price, had them executed by his scholars, frequently to the prejudice of his own reputation.

What the state of painting actually was at this period, may be collected from a variety of works ; but none of them are so celebrated as those in the Sala Regia, begun under Paul III., and scarcely finished in 1573, after an interval of thirty years. Of these Vaga had the superintendence, as Raphael had before had of the Camere Vaticane ; planning the different compartments, decorating the ceiling, designing the stuccos, cornices, devices, and larger figures, and all in the style of an able master. He next proceeded to prepare the designs for his historical pieces, and while engaged in this occupation, died in 1547. Through the influence of Michael Angelo, Daniel of Volterra, who had already worked at the stuccos in the same place under Vaga's direction, was now substituted in his room. Volterra conceived the idea of representing there the Donations of those Sovereigns who had extended or consolidated the temporal dominion of the Church (whence this chamber was called the Sala de' Regi)—an idea which, though in some degree departed from, was also in some degree followed up by succeeding artists. Volterra was naturally slow and irresolute ; and after the celebrated Descent from the Cross, in the execution of which we have already stated him to have been materially indebted to M. Angelo's assistance, he produced no more such prodigies of art. He had begun some few of the figures ; but

the Pope dying in 1549, he was, for the convenience of the conclave, under the necessity of removing the scaffolding, and exposing the figures to view in their unfinished state: these did not happen to be approved of, nor was the work prosecuted any further during the pontificate of Julius III. Still less was it likely to be prosecuted under Paul IV., during whose reign so little was painting in repute, that the figures of the Apostles executed by Raphael in one of the apartments of the Vatican, were suffered to be effaced.

Under the reign of Gregory XIII., elected in the year 1572, commenced a most inauspicious period for the art; and still more was this the case under that of his successor, Sixtus V. These Popes erected or embellished so many public edifices, that scarcely can one stir a step in Rome, without meeting with the dragon or lion, the arms of those pontiffs. It is the foible of old men to be content with mediocrity in the works they order, from the fear of not living to see them finished should they insist on excellence. Hence those painters were the most sought after, who were endowed with the greatest celerity of execution; more especially in the days of Sixtus. Nor was a much more accurate style adopted even down to the time of Clement VIII., when a number of works were hastily finished, to meet the opening of the Anno Santo 1600. During

these pontificates Rome swarmed with painters, derived not only from every part of Italy, but from almost every other country; just as the same city swarmed with poets in the days of Domitian, and with philosophers in those of Mark Aurelius. Each brought with him a style of his own; while many, from the hasty manner in which they executed their works, even rendered that style still worse. Thus painting, especially fresco-painting, degenerated into a mere mechanical exercise—an imitation, not of nature itself, for to that no attention was paid, but of the capricious ideas that sprang up in the heads of different artists. Nor was the colouring better than the design. At no period do we meet with such an abuse of simple colours, at no period such languor of chiaroscuro, or such an utter neglect of harmony. These are the mannerists that have filled the churches, the convents, and saloons of Rome with their figures. Nevertheless, even this period is not altogether to be despised; having itself produced a few artists of some note, the relics, as it were, of the preceding more auspicious age.

THE TWO ZUCCARI.

TADDEO and FEDERIGO ZUCCARI have the reputation of being the Vasaris of the Roman school. As that artist professedly trod in the steps of M. Angelo, so these aimed at treading in the steps of Raphael. The sons of one Ottaviano (an indifferent painter of S. Angiolo in Vado), they came to Rome one after the other, and both there and in other parts of the Papal State, produced a vast number of works; some good, some indifferent, and some, in which they allowed their pupils to take part, absolutely bad. A dealer, who had in his possession specimens of every kind, was wont, like a retailer of drugs, to ask his customers whether they wanted a Zuccaro of Holland, of France, or of Portugal; intimating that he had them at all prices. Taddeo, the elder of the two, was at first under the care of Pompeo da Fano, and afterwards that of Giacomone da Faenza. From the latter, and other Italian artists of merit, whose works he copied with unwearied industry, he acquired sufficient knowledge of the profession to bring himself into notice. He adopted a style which, though not the best or the most correct, was yet unconstrained, and, if we may so say,

popular, and much to the taste of such as look not for the sublime. He is like certain orators who, without possessing any elevation of fancy, contrive to keep alive the attention of the multitude; who thus, from the perspicuity of their language, understand all they say, and find or think they find, truth and nature in every expression. His pictures may be styled collections of portraits; the heads are beautiful, and the parts of the figures exposed to view, though they do not court the eye of the spectator, like those of the Florentines, by their frequency or their studied character, are yet not neglected; the dresses, the ornaments, and the cut of the beard, are those of the times in which he lived; the arrangement is remarkable for simplicity, often resembling that of the older masters in making the figures in the foreground of the picture visible only down to the middle, as though they stood upon a lower plane. He frequently repeats the same features, as well as his own portrait: in his hands and feet, as well as in the folds of his drapery, he displays still less variety, and hence not unfrequently violates the rules of symmetry.

Rome contains some vast fresco paintings of Taddeo's, among the best of which we may place certain historical pieces from the New Testament, at the church della Consolazione. He painted but little in oil. Urbino contains a Pentecost in the

church dello Spirito Santo; it also possesses another altar-piece or two of his, which may be reckoned among his least successful performances. He is more pleasing in some of his small cabinet pictures, in which he proves himself a most finished painter. But not one of his works does him so much credit as the pictures in the Farnese palace at Capraruola. They represent the actions of such of the Farnese princes as distinguished themselves in civil or military affairs. There are also other pieces from sacred and profane story, the most celebrated of which is the *Stanza del Sonno*. Strangers, who are continually visiting Capraruola, often return with a better opinion of this Zuccaro than they had carried with them thither. True it is, that there were employed there, both in conjunction with him and after his death, a number of youthful artists, his equals, if not his superiors, whose works must not be confounded with his, though it is not always a very easy matter to distinguish them. Like Raphael, he died exactly at the age of thirty-seven; and his monument is in the Pantheon, near the monument of that great master.

Federigo, his brother and his scholar, was like him in taste, but inferior to him in design; betraying more mannerism than Taddeo, more capriciousness of ornament, and a more crowded style of composition. In the Sala de' Regi, the Sala of

the Farnese palace, at the Trinita de' Monti, and elsewhere, he completed those works which his brother Taddeo had, at his death, left unfinished; and thus began to make a figure by what might, in some sort, be called the legacies bequeathed by his brother. By this means he was esteemed equal to the greatest undertakings, and was invited by Francis I. to paint the great cupola of the Florentine Cathedral, which Vasari had commenced just before his death. Federigo there executed more than three hundred figures, each of them fifty feet in height, to say nothing of his Lucifer, which was "so gigantic that it made the other figures look like those of children;" for so he himself informs us, adding, that they were the largest the world had ever seen. But the vastness of the work was its only recommendation. After the finishing of this cupola, there was scarcely a work of any magnitude at Rome that did not seem due to Federigo's pencil; whence Gregory recalled him to paint the ceiling of the Paoline Chapel, and thus give the last finish to a work begun by a Michael Angelo. While there, in consequence of certain accusations brought against him by some of the courtiers, he painted and exposed to public view an allegorical picture of Calumny,* in which he represented his accusers with asses' ears; where-

* The above is not the great picture of the Calumny of Apelles painted in water colours for the Orsini family, and afterwards

upon the latter raised so great an outcry against him before the Pope, that for safety-sake Federigo was fain to fly from Rome. From that city he absented himself for some years, during which he travelled through Flanders, Holland, and England; and was afterwards invited to Venice to paint the story of Frederic Barbarossa's prostrating himself at the feet of the Pope, still to be seen in the Ducal palace. The Pope being at length appeased, Zuccaro returned to finish the work which had been interrupted in the manner stated, and which was perhaps the best that he ever executed at Rome without the assistance of his brother. Federigo built himself a house on MontePincio, and adorned it with frescos—portraits of his own family, *conversazioni*, and other curious and novel subjects, executed with the assistance of his scholars and with very little care; and here, more than any where else, he appears a trifler, the fitting leader of a degenerate school.

He afterwards proceeded to Madrid at the invitation of Philip II.; but his performances not meeting with the approbation of that court, all that he did was defaced and supplied afterwards by Tibaldi; while he himself was sent back into Italy, though not without a handsome pension. Towards the close of his life he undertook another

engraved. This latter is in the Lante palace, and may be considered as one of the most studied of Federigo's works.—*Lanzi*.

journey; visiting the principal cities of Italy, and leaving specimens of his works with all who chose to employ him. On his way back to his native place, he fell sick at Ancona, and died there in the year 1609.

D'ARPINO.

GIUSEPPE CESARI, also called the Cavaliere d'Arpino, was a name as celebrated among painters, as that of Marino was among poets. The taste of the age was already sufficiently depraved to prefer the false to the true, provided it was but recommended by show and glitter; and these two, each in his proper sphere, seconded and promoted the prevailing error. Both of them possessed great abilities; and it is an old observation, that the fine arts, like democracies, frequently sustain the greatest detriment from the greatest geniuses. Cesari's abilities began to develop themselves even in his boyish years: he soon attracted the admiration of the more discerning, became the protégé of Danti, and procured from Gregory XIII. the necessary helps to push his fortune; insomuch that in a short time he acquired the reputation of being the first painter in Rome. Some pictures,

executed in conjunction with Giacomo Rocca, from designs by M. Angelo, (in which Giacomo was very rich,) were the first things that brought him into notice; but at that period reputation was to be had on cheaper terms. The multitude were captivated with the air of facility, the fire, the hurry, and the crowds of figures, which his historical compositions displayed. His horses, which he drew in a masterly manner, and his heads, which he invested with powerful expression, won the admiration of the many: few noticed the incorrectness of his contours, few the monotony of his extremities, the want of meaning in the disposition of the drapery, the faulty perspective, and the defective accidents of light and shade. Caravaggio and Annibal Carracci were among those few; with them Cesari had some words, and challenges were exchanged in consequence. Cesari did not accept the challenge of Caravaggio, because the latter was not yet a cavalier; and Annibal Carracci declined that of D'Arpino, alleging that the pencil was his only weapon. Hence the greatest difficulties these two eminent artists had to contend with at Rome, in the reform which they contemplated, were the obstacles opposed by Cesari, his scholars, and his adherents.

D'Arpino outlived both these artists more than thirty years, and left behind him a still more degenerate race—*progeniem vitiosiore*. He, how-

ever, after all, was born a painter, and in an art embracing such variety and difficulty, had genius enough to atone, in some measure, for his defects: he was eminently successful in the colouring of his frescos, possessed a natural felicity and exuberance of fancy, imparted a degree of animation to his figures, and invested them with a grace, which Baglione, though professing principles totally different, could not help admiring. Baglione has, moreover, pointed out two distinct styles in Cesari's works. The one deserves commendation: it is that in which he represented the Battle between the Romans and the Sabines, in the Capitol—a fresco painting, preferred by some to all his other works. The other is remarkable for its freedom and negligence; and this he adopted but too frequently, partly through impatience of study, partly through old age; as may be seen in three other stories in the same apartment of the Capitol, painted forty years after the first. His works are almost innumerable, not only in Rome, but at Naples also, at Monte Casino, and in various cities of the Ecclesiastical State; to say nothing of the pictures despatched to foreign courts, or painted for private individuals. For the latter, indeed, and even for persons in the lower ranks of life, he wrought more willingly than for princes; with whom, like the Tigellius of Horace, he was fond of appearing rude and untractable; aiming

at making them solicit his services, and affecting to disregard them: so much had his vanity been flattered by the applauses of a degenerate age.

ROMAN SCHOOL.

EPOCH IV.

BAROCCI AND OTHER PAINTERS, SOME OF THEM SUBJECTS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE, SOME OF THEM FOREIGNERS, CONTRIBUTE TO THE REFORM OF THE ROMAN SCHOOL.

THE works of Gregory and Sixtus, and many of those of Clement VIII., while they well nigh divested the Roman school even of all relish for correct taste, contributed at the same time to the restoration of it. Rome, by affording the best mart for pictures of every description, became at length the resort of the best painters; as it had been before in the time of Leo X. Every city sent thither its most distinguished artists, just as of old every city of Greece sent its bravest inhabitants to contend for the palm and the crown at the Olympic games. Barocci, a native of Urbino, was the first to lead the way to a more correct

method. He had formed himself upon the style of Coreggio—a style the best adapted to reform an age that had grown negligent in every branch of the art, but more especially in colouring and chiaroscuro; and happy had it been had he continued at Rome, and been entrusted with the direction of those works which were consigned to Nebbia, Ricci, and Circignani! At Rome, however, he was for some time, and assisted the Zuccari in the apartments of Pius IV.; but was obliged to quit it in consequence of some pretended friends having, out of envy, had the abominable treachery to administer poison to him—a circumstance which so impaired his health, that he was never afterwards able to paint but a little at a time, and that at long intervals. On his departure from Rome, however, he remained a considerable time at Perugia, and still longer at Urbino; sending his pictures, from time to time, to Rome and other places. From these pictures, as we have already observed, the Tuscan schools derived great benefit by means of Cigoli, Passignano, and Vanni; nor can I help thinking that Roncalli and Baglione also profited by them, when I consider certain works of both these artists to be met with in various places.

However this may be, these five were, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, in the highest repute, as men who disdained to conform to

the corrupt taste of the times. It had been in agitation even as early as the time of Clement VIII. to decorate the Basilica Vaticana with various pieces from the life of St. Peter, on which it was proposed to employ the most distinguished artists,—a design, the completion of which occupied a long period; it being found necessary afterwards to copy these works in mosaic, inasmuch as the paintings themselves were not proof against the dampness of the church. The five artists above-mentioned were selected to paint each of them one of these pieces; and Bernardo Castelli, one of the most distinguished of the Genoese school, was the sixth, and the least esteemed. These artists were all liberally paid, and the first five raised to the rank of cavaliers; thus affording the rising generation a proof that the reign of mannerism was on the decline. Caravaggio also gave it another severe shock by that style of his which bears the very impress of nature; and Baglione informs us, that this artist, while still a youth, by the great applause that he obtained, excited the jealousy of Federigo Zuccari, then advanced in years, and entered into competition with Cesari, who had at one time been his master. But the most fatal blow the mannerists received, was from the Carracci and their school. Annibal Carracci arrived in Rome a little previous to the year 1600, invited thither by the Cardinal Far-

nese, for the purpose of painting the celebrated Farnese ceiling,—a work which cost him the labour of eight years, and for which, incredible as it may appear, he received no more than five hundred crowns! Other works of his are to be found in the different churches. Lodovico, his cousin, was with him at Rome for a short time; Agostino, his brother, for a still longer period: indeed, during the whole of his stay there, he was not without some of his scholars; among whom were a Domenichino, a Guido, an Albani, a Lanfranco. They visited that city at different periods, but not till they had made sufficient progress, not only to assist their master, but to execute (as in fact they did) works from designs of their own.

Rome had for some years witnessed only two extremes in painting. Caravaggio and his followers merely copied nature, without attempting to embellish it; D'Arpino and his scholars carried their love of fanciful embellishment too far. Annibale taught the way at once to imitate nature, and yet to set it off with the charms of ideal grace, as well as to add to the effect of ideal beauty, by making truth of representation the foundation on which it rested. At first he was charged with coldness and insipidity, because he did not choose to give into affectation and extravagance; or rather because great merit never yet

escaped without a great deal of envy. But let envy do her worst; let her have recourse to the meanest shifts and subterfuges, and call in the aid of patronage, of friendship, intrigue, and arrogant pretension: she may perhaps boast the paltry pleasure of persecuting a man of genius, but never will she be able to blind the public,—that impartial judge of individual merit, whose decisions even princes dare not disregard. The Farnese Gallery was at length exhibited to view; and in it Rome beheld a grandeur of style which, next to the Sistine Chapel and the Chambers of the Vatican, might well entitle it to the first place in art. Then was it perceived that the preceding pontiffs had lavished their treasures only for the corruption of art; and that the true secret by which the great might hope to effect its restoration was briefly this,—to be cautious in their choice of artists, and liberal in their allowance of time. Not long after this, therefore, (though too long, it must be confessed, inasmuch as Annibale was now no more,) but still no great while after this, was issued an order of Paul V., that the public works should be apportioned to the Bolognese; for so were the Carracci and their pupils at that time styled. Thus was a sort of new leaven introduced into the Roman school, which, if it did not wholly divest it of its former extravagance, yet in great measure repressed it. The reign of

Gregory XV. (Lodovisi) was but of short continuance; but from his giving the preference, as was very natural, to those of his own country, it was highly favourable to the Bolognese; of whom Guercino da Cento, though a follower of Caravaggio rather than of Annibale, was looked upon as one. He was employed more than any of the rest in the church of St. Peter's and at the Villa Lodovisi. Next followed the pontificate of Urban VIII., an auspicious period both for poetry and painting, though certainly more auspicious for the painter than the poet; since, besides the Carracci and their school, it could boast a Poussin, a Cortona, and the best landscape painters the world has ever seen. Nor did the Pope, or the Cardinal his nephew, and others of the same family, cease to afford employment to the more distinguished artists, either in St. Peter's, or their own palaces, or the new church of the Capuchins; where the altar-pieces were distributed between Lanfranco, Guido, Sacchi, Berrettini, and other celebrated men. The same system was pursued by Alexander VII., (a prince of great taste,) as well as by the succeeding pontiffs.

BAROCCI.

FEDERIGO BAROCCI might, if we considered only his age, be referred to the former period; but his merit makes me rather refer him to this, in which I include the reformers of the art. The principles of the profession he acquired from Battista Franco, a Venetian by birth, but a Florentine in point of style. Under the direction of this master, during his residence at Urbino, Barocci designed and attentively studied the remains of ancient sculpture. Going afterwards to Pesaro, he exercised himself in copying the works of Titian, and was taught geometry and perspective by his uncle Bartolommeo Genga, an architect, the son of Girolamo. From thence proceeding to Rome, he acquired a more correct method of design, and adopted the style of Raphael. In this style he painted the St. Cecilia for the cathedral of Urbino, as well as the still better and more original picture of St. Sebastian,—a work which Mancini, for solidity of taste, preferred to every other performance of Barocci's. But the sweetness and gentleness of his character led him, as it were, instinctively to imitate Coreggio; after whose manner he designed, at the church of the

Conventuals in his native city, the delightful picture of St. Simon and St. Jude.

Nevertheless this was not the style that he made choice of for his own: he adopted a more free imitation of that eminent model. In the heads of his infantine and female forms he resembled him pretty closely; as well as in the easy flow of his drapery, the correctness of his contours, and the skilful foreshortening of his figures: but his design is in general less grand, and his chiaroscuro less ideal: his colours, though they display something of the lucid richness and nice selection of Coreggio's rainbow tints, have neither the same strength nor truth. It is, however, truly wonderful to see his colours, notwithstanding their diversity, become so intimately blended under his pencil, that no piece of music was perhaps ever better arranged to gratify the ear, than one of his pictures to please the eye. This effect is in great measure to be attributed to his judicious management of light and shade, to which he devoted so much of his attention, and which he may be said to have been the first to introduce into the schools of Lower Italy. For the better management of light and shade, he used to form little statues of chalk or wax; an art in which he yielded not to the most expert sculptor. For the composition and expression of every figure he consulted truth. He would try his models in various positions, for

the purpose of ascertaining whether a certain attitude appeared forced or not, till he had in every case hit upon that which was the most natural; thus in every garment, and in every fold of it, he did not introduce a line that was not to be found in the model. Having completed the design, he prepared a cartoon of the same size with the intended picture, and then pressing it down closely upon the *imprimitura*, or prepared ground of the canvass, traced the outlines with a *stile*: he next proved the disposition of his colours in a smaller cartoon, and afterwards proceeded to transfer it to the larger work itself. But before he began to colour his picture, he formed his *chiaroscuro* with the utmost care, after the method of the old masters; of which method he left some traces in a Madonna surrounded by various saints, which I met with in the possession of the Albani family at Rome,—a picture, the colouring of which the author was, I suspect, prevented from finishing by his death. Another of his pictures, also unfinished, and therefore very instructive and highly prized, is at Perugia, in the possession of the Graziani family. In short, perfection was his object in all his works,—an object which can hardly fail to ensure excellence to all to whom nature has not been niggard of her favours.

Bellori, who wrote the life of Barocci, has also given us a catalogue of his pictures. There are

but few of them that do not treat of sacred subjects; as a few portraits, for instance, and that picture of the Burning of Troy which he painted on two separate pieces of canvass, one of which now adorns the Borghese Gallery. With the exception of these, his pencil was dedicated to religious subjects, to which it seemed best adapted: so devout, so amiable, and so well calculated to awaken sentiments of piety, are the feelings which his pictures express. In the church of the Minerva, at Rome, is his picture of the Institution of the Lord's Supper,—a work ordered by Clement X.; in that of the Vallicella are the two pictures of the Visitation and the Presentation. Urbino, besides the pictures already noticed, and certain others, has a St. Francis at his Devotions, in the possession of the Capuchins, and, in the possession of the Conventuali, the great picture of the *Perdono*, on which he spent seven years. The perspective, the beautiful play of light, the expressive looks of the numerous figures, the colouring and harmony of the whole work, can hardly be conceived by one who has not seen it. The author himself entertained a high opinion of it, inscribed it with his name, and etched it. An Annunciation of his at Loreto is a most beautiful performance; as is also the unfinished one at Gubbio; the Martyrdom of S. Vitale, in the church of that name at Ravenna; and the *Mise-*

recordia, painted for the cathedral of Arezzo, and afterwards transferred to the royal gallery at Florence. A similar picture exists in the hospital of Sinigaglia, copied by the scholars of Barocci, who, in very many of the churches of the territory of Urbino and of Umbria, as well as in some of those of the *Piceno*, have repeated the pictures of their master; and sometimes with such felicity, that one would almost fancy he had retouched them himself.

The same may be said of certain cabinet pictures of his, which are found repeated in various galleries; such as that of the Virgin adoring the Infant Jesus, which I met with in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the Bolognetti palace at Rome, and in another palace at Cortona, and which, moreover, I find mentioned in the catalogue of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. A head of his—an *Ecce Homo*—is also frequently found repeated; as are certain of his Holy Families, which he varied in the most admirable manner. In one of these I have seen St. Joseph represented asleep; in another, I have seen him described as lifting up the *portiera* of a door in the house of Zacharias; in another, (which was removed from the sacristy of the Jesuit church at Perugia to the residence of the Pope,) in the act of plucking some cherries for the Infant Jesus,—a work which seems to have been designed to rival those of Coreggio.

Bellori remarks that it attracted great admiration, and that Barocci therefore repeated it several times.

Barocci's style was diffused throughout the duchy of Urbino and the neighbouring parts; though his most successful imitator was Vanni of Siena, who had never studied at Urbino. Barocci's scholars were very numerous; but as they generally remained in their own country, their ideas were not taught to expand, and few of them caught the true spirit of their master's style; most of them contenting themselves with its mere outside—the colouring.

CARAVAGGIO.

MICHAEL ANGELO AMERIGHI, or Morigi da Caravaggio, is one of the most celebrated painters of this period, inasmuch as he recalled the art from mannerism to truth, as well in his figures, which he invariably drew from nature, as in his colouring, which, dispensing with the vermilion and azures then in vogue, he composed of few but true tints, after the manner of Giorgione. Annibal Carracci used to say in his praise, that he ground flesh rather than colours

—“costui macinava carne,”—and, with Guercino and Guido, not only greatly admired him, but profited also by his example. Having been initiated in the first rudiments of the art at Milan, and having proceeded from thence to Venice to study the works of Giorgione, he adopted at first the subdued style of shadowing which he had learnt from that consummate master; a style in which there still exist a few of Caravaggio's works, and those the more admired of his performances. Subsequently, however, yielding to the impulse of a temper naturally turbulent and gloomy, he took to representing objects with scarcely any light, overcharging the shadows of his pictures most unmercifully. His figures have all the appearance of being placed in a dungeon, where hardly a ray of light glimmers, and that entering from above. Thus his grounds are always of a dark colour; his figures all lie in the same plane, and his paintings exhibit very little gradation of tint (*degradazione*); and yet they enchant us by the powerful effect that results from this strong contrast of light and shade. In his works we must not look for correct design or studied beauty. The speculations indulged by others with a view to impart an air of dignity to their heads, or to hit upon a more graceful disposition of the drapery, or to transfer to their canvass the elegance of Grecian sculpture, were the

objects of his ridicule: with him nothing was beautiful but as it was natural. There is in the Spada palace a S. Anna of his, intent on some feminine occupation, with the Virgin by her side; both of them remarkable for the vulgarity of their appearance; both of them attired in the dress of Roman peasants: portraits, no doubt, of the first matron and the first maid that chanced to come in his way. Such, indeed, was his usual practice: nay, he even seemed to take the more pleasure, the more he could indulge in the extravagant; overcharging his pictures with rusty armour, broken vessels, garments of an antiquated make, bodies of an emaciated or deformed appearance. Hence some of his altar-pieces have subsequently been removed from the altars where they were placed; particularly the one which was at the Scala—the Death of the Virgin—whose corpse was there represented hideously swollen.

A few of his altar-pieces are to be seen at Rome, among which is the Madonna of Loreto at the church of St. Augustine: the best, however, is the Deposition from the Cross, at the church of the Vallicella, which contrasts admirably with the gaiety of Barocci's, and the sweetness of Guido's style, specimens of both which are to be seen over the adjacent altars. He was most commonly employed on cabinet-pictures; painting, on his first arrival in Rome, flowers and fruits, and afterwards

oblong pictures with half-length figures,—a custom much in vogue after his time. In these we meet both with sacred and profane subjects—drunken revels, scenes of fortune-telling, haggings in the market-place. The Supper at Emmaus, in the Borghese palace—the S. Bastiano at the Capitol—the story of Hagar with the famished Ishmael, in the Doria palace—are much admired; as is also the picture of the Fruit Girl, where all is nature itself—both the principal figure and its accessories. Still more successful was he in representing brawls, murders, and acts of nocturnal treachery; vices to which he was himself but too much addicted, and by which he rendered his life miserable and his name infamous. It was in consequence of a murder he had committed that he left Rome, and abode some time at Naples: from thence he passed over to Malta, where, (after having been honoured with the Order of the Cross by the Grand Master, on account of the exquisite skill he had displayed in the picture of the Beheading of St. John, to be seen in the oratory of the Conventual Church,) he picked a quarrel with one of the knights of Malta, and was thrown into prison. Escaping from thence at the hazard of his life, and remaining some time in Sicily, he resolved to return to Rome; but had proceeded on his journey no further than Porto Ercole, before he died of a ma-

lignant fever, in 1609. In the above-mentioned countries he painted a great deal, as may be seen from his life, written at considerable length by Giovanni Pietro Bellori.

His school, or to speak more correctly, the crowd of imitators that went on increasing after his death, did not produce a single bad colourist: it has however been vehemently charged with offending both against design and decorum.

Gerard Hundthorst is usually styled Gherardo dalle Notti, from having produced few pictures except candle-lights; and in these he was inimitable. He took Caravaggio for his model, adopting only what was more commendable in his style—the colour of his fleshs, his vivacity, and his grand masses of light and shade; aiming at the same time to become correct in his contours, elegant in his forms, graceful in his attitudes, and equal to represent even sacred subjects with propriety. His works are very numerous; and the Prince Giustiniani possesses one of the most celebrated—the picture of our Saviour presented by night before the Judgment Seat of Pilate.

CARRACCESCHI.

LET us now advert to the Carracci and their school. Annibale, previous to his visit to Rome, had already formed a style in which there was nothing to be desired, save a closer imitation of the antique in point of design. This he added to his other accomplishments on his arrival in Rome: and those of his scholars who followed him thither,* and continued to paint in that city even after his death, are particularly distinguished by this characteristic, from those who continued at Bologna under the tuition of his cousin Lodovico. These disciples of Annibale also had their scholars at Rome; not one of whom, however, except Sacchi, approached so near in merit to his master, as they had done to Annibale; not one, like them, became the discoverer and founder of an original style.

* Domenichino, Guido, Albani, Lanfranco.

ANDREA SACCHI.

ANDREA SACCHI, a pupil of Albani's, is, next to Raphael, the best colourist of the Roman school: he ranks too among the foremost in design,—a branch of the profession which he cultivated till his death. Profoundly versed in the theory of art, he was on that account fastidious and slow of execution. It was a saying of his, that the merit of a painter consists less in producing a number of indifferent works, than in producing a few good ones; accordingly his pictures are rare. His compositions do not abound with figures; but each seems indispensable to the place it occupies; and the attitude of each appears not so much to have been chosen by the painter, as dictated by the subject. Though Sacchi did not shun the elegant, yet he seems to have been born for the grand: in his works we find dignity of mien, majesty of attitude, facility and simplicity of drapery, sobriety of colouring; together with an uniform regard to keeping, which confers a degree of harmony on the objects he represents, and affords a grateful repose to the eye. In every thing he seems to be above minuteness; after the example of the ancient sculptors, always leaving some parts of his

figures imperfectly developed. His picture of St. Romuald, seated in the midst of his monks, is reckoned one of the four best altar-pieces in Rome: and yet the subject was a difficult one to treat; the monotonous whiteness of the garb of these monks being but ill adapted to produce a good effect in painting. Sacchi, however, had the judgment to hit upon an expedient which will ever be commended and admired: close beside the group he depicted a large tree; taking care to place some of the figures in its shade, and thus producing an admirable variety of colour out of what seemed to promise nothing but monotony. His Déath of St. Anna at S. Carlo a' Catinari, his St. Andrew at the Quirinal, his St. Joseph at Capo alle Case, are also very beautiful pictures. Perugia, Foligno, and Camerino, also possess altar-pieces of his that are the pride of those cities.

SASSOFERRATO.

GIAMBATISTA SALVI, called, from the place of his nativity, Sassoferrato, whom we have already had occasion to notice when speaking of Carlo Dolci and those devotional pictures of his, was also an imitator of the Carracci; though of what

particular school is not known. Sassoferrato surpasses Dolci in the beauty of his Madonnas, but yields to him in exquisiteness of finish. Their style is dissimilar; Salvi having formed his on other models. He studied at first in his native place under his father Tarquinio, then at Rome; and afterwards at Naples, under what masters is not exactly known, except that in his own memoirs we read of one Domenico. The period at which Sassoferrato pursued his studies at Naples corresponds to a nicety with the time Domenichino was employed there, and his style of painting shows that he was an admirer of that master; though not of him only. There are still in the possession of his descendants many copies from the works of the most eminent masters, which he executed for his own improvement: among them I have noticed several of Albani, Guido, Barocci, and Raphael, reduced to a small scale, and, as one might say, breathed upon the canvass. They retain possession also of some little landscapes of his own composition, and a great many portraits of saints; several of them of St. John the Baptist, but more especially of the Virgin. Without possessing the ideal beauty of the Greeks, he has yet another species of it peculiarly adapted to the character of the Virgin; in whose looks he makes humility more especially predominate; while the simplicity of the dress and of the manner of arranging the air, corresponds

with the style of countenance, without in any degree detracting from its dignity. His works evince a full-flowing pencil, great beauty of colouring, and a high degree of relief from the judicious management of light and shade; but in the local tints they betray some few vestiges of a hard dry manner. He delighted in forming heads for the most part with a portion of the bust, of which a great number are to be met with in different collections: but few of his portraits are as large as life; though of that size, or larger, is a Madonna of his with the Infant Jesus, in the Casali palace at Rome. Even the picture of the Rosario, which he painted at S. Sabina, is one of the smallest to be found in Rome. It is, however, well composed and painted *con amore*, insomuch that it is looked upon as a perfect jewel. For the rest, the largest picture of his in existence, is over one of the altars of the cathedral of Montefiascone.

TUSCANS.

BESIDES the Bolognese, various Tuscans, whom Paul V. employed on the decoration of St. Peter's and S. Maria Maggiore, also contributed to the

improvement of the Roman school ; as well as certain others, who, though they took no part in that decoration, are yet worthy of being recorded on account of the pupils they reared there.*

Pietro da Cortona.—Comodi and Ciarpi were, as it is said, Pietro da Cortona's masters, and from that circumstance, as well as from having been born in the Florentine territory, he is by many placed in the school of Florence ; though others refer him to that of Rome ; and in fact he went thither at the age of fourteen, carrying with him from Tuscany little more than a genius of great capability ; and there, as we have already noticed, he made himself an able architect, and, as a painter, became the head of a school distinguished for freedom and tastefulness of style. Whoever would know to what lengths he carried this style in frescos and works on a large scale, should inspect the Sala Barberini at Rome ; although the Pitti palace, at Florence, certainly presents us with performances of his more elegant, more fascinating, and more studied in the various parts. Whoever again would know to what lengths he carried it in his altar-pieces, should examine the Conversion of St. Paul, in the Capuchin church at Rome, which, though placed opposite to Guido's St. Michael,

* One of the most distinguished of these Tuscan artists was Cristoforo Roncalli, otherwise called the Cav. delle Pomarance.

nevertheless fails not to excite the admiration of such professors as are willing to admit various styles of beauty in art.

Cortona's works are by no means rare at Rome and in the Ecclesiastical State: they are to be met with also in the other states of Italy; and are always the more attractive, the more he has made a display of architectural ornaments. The S. Ivo at the Sapienza of Rome, and the Titular Saint at S. Carlo a' Catinari, in the act of succouring those infected with the plague, are compositions vast enough to dismay the boldest copyist: the Preaching of St. John, in the church of the Dominicans at Imola, is another work on a very large scale. The picture of the Virgin between the Pope St. Stephen, and other Saints, in the church of St. Augustine at Cortona, is a very elaborate work, and esteemed one of his best performances. There is also a delightful picture of the Nativity of the Virgin in the Quirinal palace. The Martyrdom of St. Stephen, in the church of St. Ambrose at Rome, is also a very beautiful work; as is the Daniel in the Lions' Den, in the church of the same name at Venice, which, in composition, excels, and even in colouring equals, the many rival works of the Venetian school amongst which it is placed. His historical pieces are by no means rare in the collections of the Roman nobles. In the Capitoline gallery is the Battle between the Ro-

mans and the Sabines, a work full of fire and spirit: in the possession of the Mattei family is the story of the Woman taken in Adultery, exhibiting half-length figures more studied and elaborately finished than are usually to be found in his works.

FOREIGNERS.

A MORE arduous task than that of recording the Italian artists of the Roman school, would be the enumerating the foreigners who are comprised in it. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, Peter Paul Rubens repaired to Rome while still a youth, and left some oil paintings both at the church of the Vallicella and that of S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Not many years afterwards Antonio Vandyke also went thither with intent to remain there some time; but the rest of the Flemish painters, of whom there were a considerable number at Rome, being indignant at his refusing to mix with them in taverns, and join them in their dissipated mode of life, he soon quitted that city.

About the year 1630, Diego Velasquez, the great ornament of the Spanish school, also studied

in Rome, where he remained for the space of a year. He returned thither during the pontificate of Innocent X., whose portrait he painted in that peculiar style of his, which he was said to have derived from Domenico Greco, a pupil of Titian's at the court of Spain. By this portrait Velasquez renewed the wonders that are related of Raphael's portrait of Leo X., and Titian's portrait of Paul III.; this picture having actually deceived some, who took it for the Pope himself.

NICHOLAS POUSSIN.

BELLORI, who wrote the life of Poussin, makes him to have arrived at Rome in 1624, and represents him as already a proficient in the art, having formed his style rather from engravings of Raphael's works than from the instructions of a master. In that city, however, he improved his style, or rather, he acquired a different one, in which he may be looked upon as a sort of legislator. Poussin has shown the proper method to be pursued by any one who visits Rome with a view to prosecute painting. The remains of antiquity afforded him lessons which he could not have expected to receive from masters. In the Greek statues he

studied the beautiful, and from the Meleager of the Vatican (now recognized as a Mercury) he derived his rules of proportion : the triumphal arches, the pillars, the vases, and sarcophagi of antiquity, supplied him with accessories by which to attract the admiration of the learned world. As a model of composition, he fixed upon the Nozze Aldobrandini, a remnant of antiquity ; and from this picture and the ancient relievos, he derived that skilful management of contrast, that propriety of attitude, and that frugal introduction of actors, of which he was ever afterwards so strictly observant; being accustomed to say, that a single half-figure more than was necessary was sufficient to spoil a whole picture.

Leonardo da Vinci, from the chasteness and exquisite finish of his works, could not but be a favourite with him ; accordingly he embellished that artist's treatise on painting with figures designed with his accustomed purity of taste. He followed Leonardo in theory, and imitated him in precision. In colouring, Titian was his favourite model. It would seem, however, that he soon desisted from his application to this branch of art ; and that, in point of colour, the best pictures of his are those which he first executed at Rome. He dreaded lest his anxiety on this head might divert him from the more philosophical part of painting, for which he possessed an extraordinary

aptitude; and to this he turned his most serious and continued attention. In the animation of his figures, in the faithful expression of the various passions, in seizing the true point of action, in the art of giving to understand more than is expressed, and in furnishing materials for fresh reflection to such as return a second or third time to examine his well-conceived and profound compositions,—in all this he took Raphael for his model. In painting, indeed, he carried the spirit of philosophy even further than Raphael; and not unfrequently executed pictures which consist of nothing more than a mere moral conveyed in a poetical manner. Thus in that picture of his at Versailles, entitled the *Memoria della Morte*, he has represented a group of youthful shepherds and a damsel at the tomb of an Arcadian, on which is inscribed this epitaph:—*Fui Arcade anch'io*.

For such elegance of invention the natural penetration of his mind had hardly sufficed, had it not been aided by an acquaintance with the best classic authors, the conversation of men of letters, and the suggestions of the learned. He paid especial deference to Marini's advice, and, where the style of Italian poetry was not the point in question, might do so with advantage. The art of modelling, in which he succeeded to admiration, he practised under Fiammingo; for perspective he consulted the writings of P. Zaccolini; for the study

of the naked figure he frequented the academy of Domenichino and that of Sacchi: he moreover made himself intimately acquainted with anatomy; and exercised himself in copying the most beautiful landscapes from nature,—in which he not only acquired exquisite taste himself, but also contributed to improve that of his relative Gaspar Dughet, of whom we shall shortly have to speak. I think it no exaggeration to say, that the art of landscape painting, which was improved by the Carracci, was by Poussin brought to perfection. His genius was less calculated for large figures than for those of a smaller size: in general he painted them of about a palm and a half in length, as in his famous Sacraments, which were in the Boccapaduli palace; sometimes of two or three palms length, as in the Plague at the Colonna palace, and in other pieces. There are other pictures of his to be met with at Rome, as—the Death of Germanicus, at the Barberini palace—the Triumph of Flora, at the Capitol—and the Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, in the Pope's collection at Monte Cavallo, afterwards copied in mosaic for St. Peter's. Though established at Rome he contrived to visit Paris, where he held the post of first painter to the court: on his return to Rome after a lapse of two years, this appointment was confirmed to him, so that though absent he enjoyed the same place and emolument. After

this period, he resided at Rome for the space of three-and-twenty years, and there ended his days. It is not long since a marble bust of him, with an appropriate panegyric, was placed in the church of the Rotonda, on the suggestion and at the expense of the Cav. d'Agincourt.

LANDSCAPE PAINTERS.

THE three celebrated landscape painters, whose works are so eagerly sought after in the collections of the great, flourished in the time of Urban,—Salvator Rosa, a Neapolitan, an elegant and witty satirist—Claude Gellée, a native of Lorraine—and Gaspar Dughet, otherwise called Poussin, and, as I have already observed, the relative of Nicholas Poussin. Fashion, which is too often allowed to dictate even in the fine arts, has successively brought into the highest vogue each of these three, and thus, at Rome, has even compelled painters to copy and adopt the style first of one, and then of the other.

SALVATOR ROSA.

ABOUT the beginning of the eighteenth century, Salvator Rosa was the most in fashion. The scholar of Spagnoletto, and the descendant, as one may say, of Caravaggio, as, in large historical pieces, he delighted in the gloomy style and air of nature which predominate in that great master's works; so, in landscapes, he seems to have adopted a maxim of copying them without regard to selection, or rather, of selecting their least pleasing elements. To use Dante's words, (*le selve selvagge*,) wild forests, inaccessible mountains, rugged rocks, dark caverns, fields deformed with thickets and stumps of trees, were the scenes in which he most delighted; trees that were either shattered, or torn up by the roots, or bent towards the ground, were such as he most frequently represented: even in his skies he seldom introduces colours of a lively hue, far less the brilliant effects of the great luminary that cherishes the earth. His sea-pieces have a proportionate share of the same peculiarities. And yet this style of his, independent of its novelty, gratifies the eye by its very wildness; just as dry wines are grateful to the palate. The little figures, too, of shepherds,

sailors, and more especially soldiers, which he has inserted in almost all his landscapes, contribute not a little to the charms of his pictures; though he was criticised by his rivals for thus continually repeating the same ideas, and, as it were, copying himself.

In these small figures he is thought to have succeeded better than in those of a larger size, inasmuch as he was more practised in them. He introduced them constantly into his landscapes, composing out of them either historical pictures, as the celebrated Attilius Regulus in the Colonna palace, or fancy pieces (*capricci*), as the Witchcrafts to be seen in the Capitol and in many private collections. In these he is never select, nor always correct; but he displays vivacity, facility of execution, tastefulness of colouring, and harmony of arrangement. For the rest, he has shown more than once, that his talent was not confined to the representation of small figures. There exist certain altar-pieces of his that are well conceived and of powerful effect, more especially where the subject was one of horror; as the Martyrdom of certain Saints, in the church of S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini at Rome; the Purgatory which I saw in that of S. Gio. delle Case Rotte at Milan, and in the church del Suffragio at Matelica. We have also some pictures of his from profane story, containing large figures, and those well executed;

such as the Conspiracy of Catiline, in the possession of the Martelli family at Florence, and mentioned also by Bottari as one of his best performances. Salvator Rosa quitted Naples at the age of twenty, and established himself at Rome, where he died when about sixty years of age. His remains were deposited in the church of the Angeli, together with his portrait and an epitaph. There is in the Chigi gallery at Rome, another portrait of his, in a picture the subject of which seems to have been misunderstood by Pascoli. The picture represents a gloomy forest; a poet is seen seated there, (the features being those of Salvator Rosa,) and before him stands a Satyr—an idea allusive to the satiric style of poetry in which he indulged. The description, however, which the historian gives of the piece is this:—"Pindar under the influence of poetic inspiration, and the god Pan appearing to him."

GASPAR POUSSIN.

GASPAR DUGHET, or Poussin, a native of Rome, resembled Rosa only in celerity: each of them could finish a landscape, and even decorate it with figures, on the same day that he began it. For the rest, Poussin selects all the most beautiful

elements of landscape the earth affords,—spiry poplars, spreading plane-trees, limpid fountains, enamelled meads, gently sloping hills, villas calculated to allay the heats of summer, and form the delight of the great. All that the Tusculan or Tiburtine territory, or even that of Rome itself, possesses of the beautiful, where, says Martial, nature has combined in one view all the separate charms which she has scattered elsewhere—all this did Poussin transfer to his canvass. He also composed imaginary landscapes; in this resembling Torquato Tasso, who, in describing the gardens of Armida, concentrated in those charming verses of his all the ideas of the beautiful with which his observation had supplied him.

Notwithstanding this passionate pursuit of the lovely and the graceful, many are of opinion that there is not, in the annals of art, a greater name than that of Poussin. Nature had endowed him with a sort of fervour, and, if we may so say, a language which expresses more than meets the eye. To give an instance of this: in certain of his larger landscapes, such as those of the Doria palace, we now and then observe a path made to wind about with the most ingenious intricacy, discovering itself here and there to the eye, but in other parts leaving us to follow it with the imagination. In Poussin's works all is nature. His leaves are as varied as those of the different trees

themselves; the only charge brought against him being the want of greater variety in their tints, in which he adheres too exclusively to those of a greenish hue. He succeeded in portraying not only the dawn of morning, the blaze of noon, the sober twilight of evening, and the various aspects of a tempestuous or a serene sky; but sometimes represented to admiration even the agitation caused by a light breeze among the leaves, the fury of a whirlwind rending and uprooting the trees of the forest, or the awful magnificence of a thunder-storm. Nicholas, who had taught him to select the more beautiful elements of landscape, served also as his guide in the figures and the accessories. Even in Gaspar's paintings all breathes elegance and erudition: his edifices betray a predilection for the antique: if the scene is laid in Greece or the neighbourhood of Rome, we are presented with triumphal arches, and broken columns; if in Egypt, we meet with pyramids, obelisks, and the idols peculiar to that nation. The figures he introduces are not those of shepherds and their flocks, as in the productions of the Flemish school; in general they have some connexion with history or classic fable; sometimes we see parties enjoying the sport of hawking, poets crowned with laurel, and other similar subjects of a less trite nature, and not unfrequently finished with as much care as though they had been illuminations.

CLAUDE LORRAINE.

CLAUDE LORRAINE is now esteemed the prince of landscape painters; nor can there be a doubt that his compositions are the richest and most studied of any. Little time is requisite to run over a landscape of Poussin's or Salvator Rosa's, compared with one of Claude's, though of much smaller dimensions. A landscape of Claude's presents to the spectator an endless variety; such multiplied prospects of land and water attract the eye, such an infinity of curious objects is it made to pass over, that, like a traveller, it is forced to pause and take rest; in short, so remote appear the mountains or the sea-coasts in the distance, that the eye in some sort feels the fatigue to be encountered in reaching them. The templets, which serve so well to round off the composition—the lakes, covered with aquatic birds,—the leaves, made to assume a different aspect according to the different nature of the trees—all with him is nature; every thing is calculated to arrest the attention of the amateur, or to afford instruction to the artist; especially when he painted with more than ordinary care, as in the Altieri, Colonna, and other palaces at Rome. There is not a single

effect of light which he has not contrived to imitate either in the reflection of water, or in the sky itself. The various changes of the day are nowhere better seen than in the landscapes of Claude. In a word, we may truly call him a painter who, in depicting the three kingdoms of air, earth, and water, has given "an accurate representation of the whole of the visible world." His skies have almost always the impress of the sky of Rome, whose atmosphere is, from its situation, of a somewhat hazy, glowing, and roseate cast. His figures have but little merit: they are insipid, and in general disproportionately long. Hence he used to tell those who bought his pictures, that he sold the landscapes, but made them a present of the figures. Indeed, he frequently caused them to be added by some other artist, especially by Lauri.*

* Under this fourth epoch, the nature of my plan compels me to omit—Enrico Uroom, who distinguished himself by his fidelity in the representation of ships—Agostino Tassi, Pietro de Mulieribus, Tempestino, and Montagna, who were equally distinguished for the representation of storms and sea-pieces—and the celebrated Jacopo Cortese, styled, from the name of his native place, *il Borgognone*, and famed for his battle-pieces. In them, as Lanzi expresses it, "we might almost fancy we hear the tumult of battle, the neighing of the steeds, and the shrieks of the dying; insomuch that his scholars used to say, that their soldiers appeared to sham fight, while *Borgognone's* seemed to fight in good earnest." Under this epoch, also, Lanzi notices *Passeri* and *Baghione*, but rather as biographers than painters.

ROMAN SCHOOL.

EPOCH V.

CORTONA'S FOLLOWERS, BY THEIR INJUDICIOUS IMITATION OF HIS STYLE, DO PREJUDICE TO THE ART: MARATTA AND OTHERS SUSTAIN IT.

THE fine arts, like the *belles lettres*, never continue long stationary: he who lives to old age rarely leaves them at his death such as he had found them at his birth. Many causes conspire to produce this change,—public calamities, such as we have seen to have occurred after the death of Raphael—the fickleness of the human mind, which is apt to be taken with novelty in the fine arts, almost as much as with novelty in dress—the credit and influence of certain artists—the capricious taste of the great, who either themselves selecting, or permitting others to select, certain masters to superintend works of importance, tacitly point out the path to be trod by those who aspire at distinction. These and other causes occasioned a decline in the Roman school towards the end of the seventeenth century; and that, too, at a time when literature was beginning to revive,—a clear proof that literature and the fine arts do not necessarily flourish together.

The Cav. Bernini, celebrated as an architect, but not so celebrated as a sculptor, was, during the pontificate of Urban VIII. and Innocent X., and even down to 1680, the year in which he died, the arbiter, as it were, of the works carried on at Rome. A foe to Sacchi, and a favourer of Cortona, he promoted his friend's interest in preference to that of his rival. Nor had he any difficulty in so doing; inasmuch as Cortona was as remarkable for industry and rapidity of execution, as Sacchi was for tardiness and irresolution; qualities which drew down upon him the displeasure of his patrons themselves. In process of time, Bernini taking it into his head to patronise Romanelli in preference to Cortona, and to turn him and others to the cultivation of painting, contrived to tincture even this branch of art with his own style; which, however beautiful it may be, has still something in it of mannerism, especially in the folds of the drapery. Thus the way being opened to caprice, the true maxims of art began to undergo a change for the worse, and false ones to be substituted in their stead; nor was it many years before a number of pernicious principles became established in the studios of the different painters, especially in those of the Cortoneschi. Some, as Bellori attests in his life of Carlo Maratta, even went so far as to condemn all imitation of Raphael; while some ridiculed the study of

nature, as useless, deeming it better servilely to copy the figures of others. The consequences are visible in the pictures of the time. The heads, even in the works of different painters, are, like those of Cortona's, remarkable for the size of the lips and nose; and, as regards their features, would all seem to be the offspring of one and the same family; so strong is the resemblance between them. Every thing tended to diminish diligence, and to promote facility, to the prejudice of correct design.

The schools most in repute, after the death of Sacchi, which occurred in 1661, that of Berrettini, which took place in 1670, and that of the more distinguished Carracceschi, were reduced to two, —Cortona's, which was promoted by Ciro Ferri, and Sacchi's, which was promoted by Maratta. The former tended to enlarge the ideas of the painter, but led to negligence of execution; the latter precluded negligence, but tended to fetter the imagination. Each school adopted some of the peculiarities of its opposite; and not always the best: some of the Maratteschi affected Cortona's studied contrast; and some of Ciro's followers did not disdain to imitate Maratta's style of drapery. Cortona's school succeeded best in frescos, and boasted the greatest number of pupils; the other was most successful in oils, and reckoned fewer adherents. They may be looked upon as

rival schools, each having been supported by a party of its own, and indiscriminately patronised by the different pontiffs till Ciro's death, that is, till 1689. From that time Maratta began to give a tone to art, and under Clement XI., whose master he had been in design, was made superintendent of the various works carried on at Rome and Urbino by the direction of that Pontiff. Although he was not without able competitors, yet he always contrived to keep his ground and retain his pre-eminence; and when he was no more, his school still flourished till the pontificate of Benedict XIV. Lastly, he paved the way for the new styles of Subleyras, Batoni, and Mengs.*

CARLO MARATTA.

CARLO MARATTA, who was born at Camurano, near Ancona, enjoyed the reputation of being one of the first painters of Europe of his time. In a letter of Mengs's, "On the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Art of Design," the author bestows this panegyric on Maratta: "that he prevented painting from degenerating at Rome so much as

* Besides Ciro Ferri, the more distinguished Cortoneschi here omitted are—Carlo Cesi—Francesco Romanelli—and Benedetto Luti.

it had done at other places." During the early part of his life he devoted a good deal of his time to copying the works of Raphael, of which he was a professed admirer; and he did his utmost to restore the pictures of the *Camere Vaticane* and the Farnesina to such a state, that they might be transmitted to remote posterity,—a task that required great labour and judgment. His genius was not calculated for works on a grand scale; hence neither he nor his scholars were very ambitious of undertaking frescos or large compositions. At the same time he was not afraid to engage in works of this kind; on the contrary, he readily set about the task of decorating the cupola of the cathedral at Urbino, which he covered with a crowd of figures. This work, together with the cupola itself, was destroyed by the earthquake of 1782; but the sketches are still preserved there in four pictures at the Albani palace. Nevertheless, had he followed his own inclination, he would always have confined himself to the execution of cabinet pictures, or rather, of altar-pieces. His Madonnas combine an amiable modesty with an air of dignity; his angels are full of grace; his saints are distinguished by the noble character of the heads, and the attitudes of devotion in which he has placed them. In Rome his pictures are the more prized the more they approach to the style of Sacchi; as the S. Saverio at the Jesuit church,

a Madonna at the Panfili palace, and various others. Some of these are to be found beyond the territories of the Church : thus the Martyrdom of S. Biagio at Genoa is of this character,—a picture of which I do not stop to inquire the date, but content myself with observing that it is worthy of the greatest rival Sacchi ever had. He afterwards adopted a different style, less elevated certainly, yet one that for accuracy might well be proposed as a pattern. After having helped his invention by means of his designs, he revised the whole by a comparison with nature ; and not satisfied with that, returned even at an advanced age to seek for elegance of contour in the figures of Raphael, whom he took for his model, though without losing sight of the Carracci and Guido. But by aiming too much at accuracy, he is by many thought to fall into minuteness ; his works losing in spirit what they gain in elaborate finish. What is least to be commended in him is the disposition of the drapery ; where, from over anxiety to appear natural, he formed a system by which he fritters away its masses, exposes parts of the body to view apparently without sufficient reason, and sometimes impairs the elegance of his figures. In the general appearance of his pictures there prevails a certain degree of opacity ; one of the marks by which some pretend to distinguish the works of the *Maratteschi*. And, in fact, his

method was to concentrate the principal light on a single object, keeping it rather too much subdued in the other parts of the picture: but his followers, as usually happens, pushed this system a great deal too far, making their pictures sometimes look as if enveloped in a sort of mist.

Though rarely, yet he has now and then produced a painting of extraordinary size; as the *St. Carlo* in the church of that name on the *Corso*, and the *Baptism of Christ* at the *Certosa*, copied in mosaic for the *Basilica of St. Peter's*. His other pictures are for the most part on a smaller scale; many of them are in *Rome*, and among these the charming picture of *S. Stanislaus Kostka*, over the altar where his ashes repose; not a few in other cities, as the *S. Andrea Corsini* in the chapel of the *Corsini* palace at *Florence*, and the *St. Francis of Sales* at the *Filippini* of *Forli*, which is one of his most studied performances. He was occupied a great deal in painting for the collections both of sovereign princes and of private individuals. There is not a single palace at *Rome* which does not possess a picture or two of his, especially that of the *Albani* family; a family to which he was warmly attached. In the *Ecclesiastical State* his pictures are by no means rare. The copy of the *Battle of Constantine*, in the possession of the *Mancinforti* family at *Ancona*, deserves particular notice. It is said that, being

requested to get that piece copied, he proposed the task to a pupil of his who was already an expert painter, and that the latter rejected the commission with disdain. He himself therefore set about the task, and exhibiting it when it was finished, took occasion to remind the more youthful artists, that the copying such works as these may well benefit the most accomplished masters.

RAPHAEL MENGES.

RAPHAEL MENGES, a native of Saxony, went to Rome while very young, being taken thither by his father, a tolerable miniature painter, and therefore a correct and precise draughtsman. Having instilled the same taste into his son, he exercised him in designing Raphael's figures; and, in the severest, or rather, the most inhuman manner, punished every error he committed by flogging and almost starving him. Being compelled to aim at perfection, and guided by a natural quickness of genius to penetrate into its principles, by little and little he found himself in a condition to afford Winckelmann very important assistance in his "History of Art," as well as to publish several

profound treatises of his own on the subject of painting; works that have contributed in no small degree to the improvement of the present age. These works have different titles, but they all aim at the same end—to point out what it is that constitutes perfection in art.

The artist shadowed out by Mengs, is like the orator sketched by Cicero—an imaginary being so perfect, that, as that great man observed, the world never has, and probably never will, see the reality. In fact, it is the duty of every one who takes upon himself the office of a teacher, to propose only what is best and most perfect, in order that we may at least attain to what is respectable and worthy of commendation. Assuming this, therefore, I would defend certain passages of his writings, in which he appears to some to have set himself up as a dictator in painting; presuming to criticise not only Guido, Domenichino, and the Carracci; but even the three great painters themselves whom he proposes as models in the art. Mengs, most assuredly, was not so infatuated as to hope to appear superior to those consummate masters; but being well aware that no one ever produces a work so perfect, but that it might still have been made more perfect, he undertook to show where each of them had reached the highest pitch of excellence, as well as where each of them

had fallen short of it. The perfect painter, therefore, according to Mengs' conception of him, (and to this degree of perfection he not only aspired himself, but was anxious that all others should aspire,) must unite in himself the design and ideal beauty of the ancient Greeks, the expression and composition of Raphael, the chiar-ocuro and gracefulness of Coreggio, and, finally, the colouring of Titian.

Mengs is, so to speak, not a whetstone which imparts to the steel a degree of keenness which the whetstone never acquires; he is rather the steel itself, which becomes the sharper and brighter the more it is used. He became painter to the court of Dresden; and there every fresh work was an instance of further progress. He then went to Madrid, where, in the various apartments of the royal palace, he represented the assembly of the gods, the different parts of the day, and the various seasons of the year, with imagery at once the most fascinating and appropriate. Returning afterwards to Rome to renew his studies, and from thence repairing a second time to Madrid, he painted in a saloon at that place the Apotheosis of Trajan, and in one of the theatres, Time flying off with Pleasure,—pictures that are very superior to the former. Rome possesses three works of his on a large scale—the picture on the ceiling at St. Eusebius—the Parnassus in the saloon of

the Villa Albani, which far surpasses the preceding one—and, lastly, the Papyrus cabinet at the Vatican, painted by him, where the loveliness of the angels, the commanding air of the Moses and the St. Peter, the beauty of the colouring, as well as the relief and harmony of the whole, make this cabinet pass for one of the greatest ornaments of the Vatican Museum and of Rome itself. This same solicitude to make each succeeding effort superior to the preceding one, we might also observe in his easel pictures, were they not so rare in Italy; for of these he painted a good many for London and various other capitals of Europe. In Rome itself, the scene of his youthful studies, where he first established himself, whither he frequently returned, and where at length he ended his days, but few of his works are to be found: among them is the portrait of Clement XIII. and that of the Cardinal Carlo, his nephew, in the possession of the Prince Rezzonico; that of the Cardinal Zelada, the secretary of state, and a few other pieces in the hands of private gentlemen, especially of the Cav. Azara. Florence possesses some estimable pictures of his in the Pitti palace, and his own portrait in the cabinet of painters; besides the grand Descent from the Cross, executed in chiaroscuro for the Marquis Rinuccini, which he was prevented by his death

from colouring; and a fine fresco painting of a Genius, in an apartment of the Senator Count Orlando Malevolti del Benino.*

• Pompeo Batoni, of Lucca, and Antonio Cavallucci da Sermoneta, may be considered as the two most distinguished artists among those here omitted.

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